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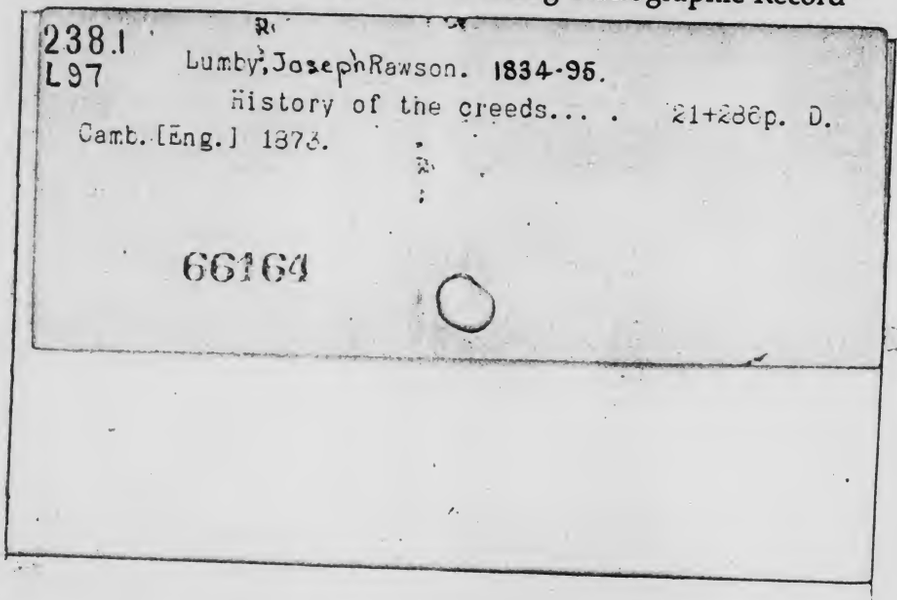
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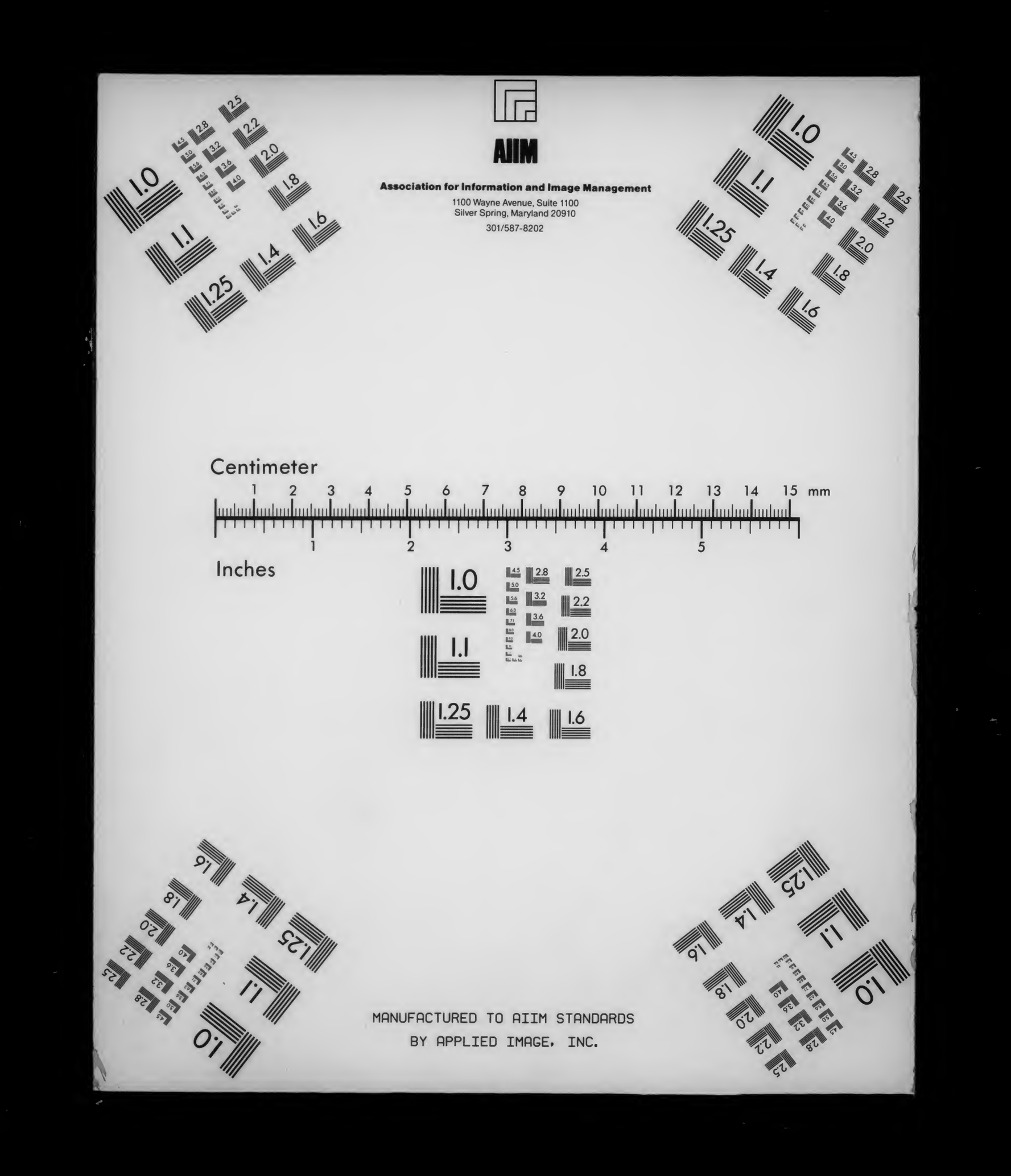
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THE HISTORY OF THE CREEDS.

(i) *ANTE-NICENE,*

(ii) *NICENE AND CONSTANTINOPOLITAN,*

(iii) *THE APOSTOLIC CREED,*

(iv) *THE QUICUNQUE, COMMONLY CALLED THE CREED OF ST ATHANASIUS.*

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BY

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PREFACE.

THE object of the following pages is to state in a succinct manner the main points which are known of the History of those Professions of Faith at present used in the Church of England. No attempt has been made at treating of the doctrines contained in them, nor of the causes of their development. The student having been here guided to the authorities will find profitable labour in tracing such growth for himself; while to have introduced doctrinal matter into the volume would have entirely changed its character. It aims at being an accurate narration of facts, with no more inferences drawn from them than their arrangement into regular sequence rendered unavoidable.

10 Feb. '85

Originality in such a work is impossible: all that can be attempted is to give to each part of the history its due value and prominence. The difficulty of success in so doing can only be estimated by those who have made the trial.

Of that one of our Creeds which stands first in order of time the whole formation can be clearly traced, though it is doubtful whether it received the sanction of a general Council quite so early as has usually been supposed. With the other two Symbols the case is different; the Apostolic being a conglomerate formed out of the most

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fitting expressions which the wisdom and piety of the Western Church could, in the course of seven centuries and a half, elaborate for conveying in a concise form the great truths of the Christian Faith; while the Quicunque bears unmistakeable signs of having arrived at its present form during a period of great theological excitement.

Precious though these summaries are, their history makes it felt that they have come down to us through the midst of some very unedifying disputes, and it may at the present day be a warning against errors into which the discussions on the "Athanasian Creed" are likely to betray both its partizans and opponents. At the same time the history cannot fail to leave a deep impression of the vitality of the great truths of Christianity, when they are seen gathered together into these forms with so little alloy, though so frequently made the material of most unchristian contests.

The writer has availed himself of whatever he has found suitable to his purpose in previous authors, and has striven to make full acknowledgment of his obligations. To do the same for the help which he has derived from the advice and conference of friends, who from time to time have given him the advantage of their judgment, would demand much more than a brief mention in a Preface.

CAMBRIDGE,
October, 1873.

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ERRATUM.

P. 90, line 9, *for* 791 *read* 796.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE HISTORY OF CREEDS ANTERIOR TO THE FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL.

Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.—St Matth. xxviii. 19, 20.

In an endeavour to trace the history of our Creeds from the earliest times it is necessary to bear in mind that the ideas of the primitive Christians as to the intent and use of such professions of faith differed widely from our own. When our Lord, before His Ascension, instituted the Sacrament of Baptism, He used language which has formed the framework, so to speak, of all the Creeds that have since been composed. Expansions of greater or less extent have been made according to the varying difficulties of different Churches, but such additions have in all cases been no more than developments and explanations of the belief in the three Persons of the Trinity. At the same time our Lord's words fixed the occasion on which alone for some centuries a Creed was used in the services of the primitive Church. The profession of faith was inseparably connected with that Sacrament whereby new members were admitted into the Christian society. The Creed was

taught as the final portion of the preparation for such admission, and was to be solemnly recited in public once for all at Baptism. After that it was to be preserved as a valuable summary of faith, but in the memory only, as being a treasure too precious to be profaned by publicity. Nothing can be stronger than the language of the Fathers of the Church, even down to the fifth century, on the care with which the Creed was to be guarded as a secret. St Cyprian, bishop of Carthage about 250 A.D., speaks thus[1]: "The "Sacrament[2] of faith" (by which he means the Creed) "is "not to be profaned," and 200 years later, St Peter Chrysologus, archbishop of Ravenna, uses language still more explicit[3]: "Let the mind hold and the memory guard this "pledge of hope, this decree of salvation, this symbol of

[1] Cyprian, *Testim.* III. 50. Sacramentum fidei non esse profanandum.

[2] *Sacramentum fidei* is but one among many titles by which the Creed is described, before one name won its way to general acceptance both with Greek and Latin writers. This name *symbolum* (*σύμβολον*) is first mentioned by St Cyprian, and many explanations have been offered of the word. The most probable seems to be that which views the Creed as a watchword whereby Christians were known among one another. This is the more likely, as Tertullian employs an expression when speaking of the agreement between the Churches of Africa and the Church of Rome (*De Præscrip. Hær.* 36) which conveys exactly this idea. His word is "contesseratur," the root of which is "tessera," the soldier's password. The reader may with advantage consult Lord King's *History of the Apostles' Creed* on this subject.

In Greek the most common titles for the Creed were *ἡ πίστις, ὁ κάνων τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ πίστεως ἀρχαίας κάνων, τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ ἀποστολικόν, ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*, and in Latin (besides *symbolum*) *fides, regula fidei, fides apostolica, fidei clavis, tessera fidei unanimis*, and *signaculum cordis*.

[3] Pet. Chrysologus, *Serm.* 59 (Migne, LII. 365). Hoc spei pactum, hoc salutis placitum, hoc vitæ symbolum, hanc fidei cautionem mens teneat, conservet memoria, ne divinitatis pretiosum munus depretiet charta vilis, ne mysterium lucis atrum tenebret atramentum, ne secretum Dei habeat indignus et profanus auditor.

"life, this safeguard of faith, lest vile paper depreciate the "precious gift of the Divinity, lest black ink obscure the "mystery of light, lest an unworthy and profane hearer "hold the secret of God." And the nature of the feeling on this subject which prevailed in the early Church may be gathered from a sermon of St Augustine. It is one of several which have come down to us as he delivered them to the candidates for Baptism. "I have given you," he says, "as in duty bound, this short discourse on the whole "Creed, and you will observe briefly collected into it "whatever you have heard in the Creed. Nor ought you "by any means to use writing that you may retain these "same words of the Creed, but to learn them thoroughly "by listening, nor when you have learnt them ought you "to write them down, but ever to retain and recollect "them by memory. For whatever you will hear in the "Creed is contained in the divine letter of Holy Writ. "But whereas what is so collected and reduced to a kind "of form may not be written, a remembrance is made of "the promise of God, wherein, when He proclaimed by the "prophet the New Covenant, He said: 'This is the cove-"'nant which I will make with them after those days, saith "'the Lord, I will put my law in their heart, and in their "'mind will I write it.' For the sake of shewing forth "this the Creed is learnt by hearing, and is not written "on tablets, or on any material substance, but in the "heart[1]."

[1] Aug. *Serm.* 212 (Migne, XXXVIII. p. 1060). Hunc igitur brevem sermonem de universo symbolo vobis debitum reddidi, in quo symbolo quod audieritis totum in isto sermone nostro breviter collectum agnoscetis. Nec ut eadem verbi symboli teneatis ullo modo debetis scribere, sed audiendo perdiscere, nec cum didiceritis scribere sed memoria semper tenere atque recolere. Quidquid enim in symbolo audituri estis in divinis sacrarum Scripturarum literis continetur. Sed quod ita collectum

To multiply illustrations of the prevalence of this feeling were abundantly easy[1]. It cannot therefore be matter of surprise that the earliest specimen of a Creed which has been preserved to us dates but little before the end of the second century, and even this is a degree of antiquity far beyond that which can be claimed for any of the forms of Creed at present used in the English Church. The most ancient of them the so-called Nicene Creed was, at the earliest, sanctioned in the present form by the Council of Constantinople A.D. 381.

But although we have no formal record thereof, we can scarcely suppose that the primitive Church remained long without a form of words wherein new converts should make profession of their faith. Still less can we think that when the apostles were sending out teachers into the world they would send them unfurnished with some such summary of doctrine. And when they themselves came to separate, each to his own sphere of labour, it is most reasonable to believe that some form of words was agreed upon, which should be taught alike in all the Churches. The general agreement in form and contents so noticeable in the early Creeds which have come down to us testifies to the probability of some such common form having existed from the earliest times. The tradition that such a summary was composed by the apostles themselves is preserved by Rufi-

et in formam quamdam redactum non licet scribi, commemoratio fit promissionis Dei, ubi per prophetam prænuntians Testamentum novum dixit: 'Hoc est Testamentum quod ordinabo eis post dies illos, dicit Dominus, dando legem meam in mente eorum, et in corde eorum scribam eam' (Jer. xxxi. 33). Hujus rei significandæ causa audiendo symbolum discitur, nec in tabulis, vel in aliqua materia, sed in corde scribitur.

[1] See for example St Jerome, Lib. *contr. Joan. Hieros.* (Migne, XXIII. 580), also Rufinus *in Symb. Apost.* § 2.

nus[1] in his Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, and the imagination of pious enthusiasts afterwards elaborated this account so as to assign to each one of the twelve his special portion of the composition[2]. The erroneous nature of this later tradition can easily be demonstrated and will be evident at once when we come to examine the source of each article in the Western Creed; but in the statement of Rufinus, who wrote before the end of the fourth century, we may well believe that there is preserved to us a true memorial of a transaction which circumstances so evidently rendered necessary.

That the baptismal formula as delivered by our Lord would be expanded by the apostles is to be inferred from the words which immediately follow it. The new disciples were to be taught to observe all things which Christ had commanded. The close connection of the injunction, "Teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have com-"manded," with the institution of the Sacrament of Baptism would of itself suggest the combination of these precepts of the Lord into a baptismal profession. That some such enlargement actually took place we are assured on the testimony of Tertullian[3]. "To begin from Baptism," he says, "when we are about to enter the water, there, and

[1] Rufinus *in Symb. Apost.* § 2. Discessuri (*sc. Apostoli*) itaque ab invicem normam sibi prius futuræ prædicationis in commune constituunt .... in unum conferendo quod sentiebat unusquisque.

[2] The story which assigns an Article to each one of the twelve is found in a sermon falsely attributed to St Augustine (*Serm.* 241, *De Symbolo*, Migne, XXXIX. 2190), but as the date of this composition is uncertain perhaps its earliest occurrence is in Pirminius (*Scarapsus*, Migne, LXXXIX. 1035).

[3] Tert. *de Cor. Milit.* c. 3. Denique ut a baptismate ingrediar, aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamur amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit.

"also previously under the hand of the president, we tes-
"tify that we renounce the devil, his pomp, and his angels.
"Then we are plunged three times into the water answer-
"ing somewhat more than the Lord ordained in the
"Gospel." Combining this statement with the character which our Lord declared was to belong to the teaching of His apostles, we may be enabled to judge what the nature of these enlargements of the Creed would be. The first preachers of Christianity were sent forth by their Master to be above all things His witnesses. His parting words[1] impressed this upon them. "Then opened he their under-
"standing that they might understand the Scriptures, and
"said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved
"Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day:
"and that repentance and remission of sins should be
"preached in his name among all nations, beginning at
"Jerusalem, and ye are *witnesses* of these things." We have in this passage not only the commission but also a specification in great part of the truths for which they were to be witnesses. And that they themselves were sensible from the first of this main characteristic of their work is evident from the proceedings at the election of a successor to fill the place of the traitor Judas[2]. The new member of their band must be one who like themselves could be a witness to the life and teaching of their Master: he must have been with them all the time that the Lord went in and out amongst them, from the baptism of John until Christ's Ascension. With this in our minds it may be well to see before we advance farther to what parts of a Creed as now used they could from their own experience bear their testimony. We shall in this way gather a notion of what the primitive Creed may have been like,

[1] Luke xxiv. 45—48. [2] Acts i. 21, 22.

and shall be somewhat more prepared to appreciate the form in which the earliest recorded Creed appears.

Taking for the purpose of our examination the Creed which tradition has so long connected with the name of the apostles, we find that by far the largest part of this confession would be included in the facts and doctrines to which the apostles could testify, and that only two articles out of the twelve would be entirely omitted. This will be seen from an examination of the Creed as here printed, where the portions in italics indicate how much of it would come into the teaching of the apostles as Christ's witnesses.

1. *I believe in God the Father Almighty,* Maker of heaven and earth.
2. *And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.*
3. *Who was* conceived by the Holy Ghost, *born of the Virgin Mary.*
4. *Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried.*
5. He descended into hell; *the third day he rose again from the dead.*
6. *He ascended into heaven,* and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.
7. *From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.*
8. *I believe in the Holy Ghost.*
9. The Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints.
10. *The Forgiveness of sins.*
11. *The Resurrection of the body.*
12. And the life everlasting.

We shall hereafter endeavour to refer each of the unitalicized portions to its source. Meanwhile this arrange-

ment of the Creed may help us to understand why, with very good reason, the *consensus* of antiquity ascribed this venerable confession to the apostles.

Having pictured to ourselves the form which the earliest Creed might be expected to assume, let us now try to collect from Scripture such hints as are there given of its contents and character. In the Acts of the Apostles we are informed in what manner the first teachers of Christianity set about discharging their office as witnesses to the Lord, and in whatever part of that book we select one of their discourses we cannot but be struck by the way in which their testimony took the form which has come down to us in the Creeds. One example may suffice. Shortly after the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, Peter and John were brought before the Jewish authorities to be questioned concerning a discourse which they had given after the cure of a cripple at the temple gate. It appears from the account of their arrest that the sermon itself had been on "the resurrec-"tion from the dead through Jesus Christ[1]," and when at the tribunal they were called on for their defence, the words of St Peter as witness for his Master shew us, even in these early days, how the Creed of the primitive Church would be formed. "Be it known unto you all," are his words, "and to all the people of Israel, that "by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye "crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by "him doth this man stand here before you whole[2]." And later in the same chapter, after they had been dismissed and had gone unto their own company, a portion of their prayer assumed a similar character. "Lord, thou "art God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the

[1] Acts iv. 2.

[2] Acts iv. 10.

"sea, and all that in them is: who by the mouth of thy "servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, "and the people imagine vain things? The kings of "the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered to-"gether against the Lord and against his Christ. For of "a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast "anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gen-"tiles and the people of Israel were gathered together, "for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel deter-"mined before to be done[1]." Long before any of the historical books of the New Testament were committed to writing, utterances like these would be preserved and would in time assume a regular form, becoming what has already been alluded to in the quotation from Rufinus[2], the "*norma prædicationis*," the rule and guide of preaching. Some such summary we may be sure St Paul had in his mind when he spoke[3] of the "form of doctrine" (*τύπος διδαχῆς*) which had been delivered to the Romans, and in another epistle[4] of the "rule" (*κανὼν*) on the observers of which he invokes grace and mercy. That this rule or form of doctrine assumed the nature of a profession of faith to be uttered in words may be gathered from the warning addressed to the angel of the Church of Pergamos[5]. Amid some things that are blameworthy in the character of that Church it is yet said of her: "Thou "holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith." And that this had been no easy task is attested by the fact that one at least among them had fallen a martyr to his open profession of the truth. In the Epistle to the Hebrews[6] the writer enumerates some of the articles which

[1] Acts iv. 24—28.

[2] See p. 5, note 1.

[3] Rom. vi. 17.

[4] Gal. vi. 16.

[5] Rev. ii. 13.

[6] Heb. vi. 1, 2.

such an early summary of Christian doctrine must have comprised. "Therefore leaving the principles of the "doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying "again the foundation of repentance from dead works, "and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms, "and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the "dead, and of eternal judgment." Words can scarcely be found which would better describe the purpose of a Creed. It was intended to be *θεμέλιον*, a foundation on which the superstructure of the Christian life should be erected. It was exactly what the writer's language here describes it, *ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος*, "the word of the beginning of Christ," which he has called in a previous verse[1] "the beginning of the oracles of God." It is to some such elementary profession of faith that St Paul alludes, no doubt, in the word *παρακαταθήκη*, "the deposit," of which he speaks in both his epistles to Timothy. In the first passage[2] he mentions it in pointed opposition to the subtleties which were set forth by false teachers. "Keep the deposit (that which is committed "to thy trust, A. V.), avoiding profane and vain babblings, "and oppositions of science falsely so called, which some "professing have erred concerning the faith." It was then in the preservation of the faith that this deposit, which Timothy was to guard, was likely to be useful, and the keeping of it would preserve him from error,—the very purpose for which all Creeds have been designed. In the second epistle[3] the language is, if possible, still more conclusive that the deposit of which the apostle speaks was a profession of faith. The "good deposit" is put in such pointed parallelism to the "sound words" which are spoken of in the verse preceding that it can refer to

[1] Heb. v. 12. [2] 1 Tim. vi. 20. [3] 2 Tim. i. 13, 14.

nothing else. And we may be well assured that the "sound words" which the apostle would commit to his son in the faith would be of like character with the "rule" and "form of doctrine" on which we have seen him dwell elsewhere.

Evidence has been advanced sufficient to demonstrate that from the earliest times there existed some form of words in the Church of the character of a Creed, and it may be that in the passages last quoted we can trace a reason for the jealous secrecy with which the early Creed was guarded; a jealousy which obscures the history of its growth for almost two centuries. It was a precious "deposit" to be preserved and not lightly parted with: a watchword against error to the possessor of it, which he was carefully to store up as a sacred trust. Not indeed that St Paul intended any such construction to be put upon his words as would lead to secrecy in the guardianship of the deposit. But from his expression, or from some other reason, the first Christians looked upon the Creed for many ages as a thing to be kept secret, and the solemnity which accompanied the mode of its delivery to the catechumens was calculated to impress this feeling most deeply on their minds.

The practice of the early Church in the admission of converts to Baptism seems to have been of this nature. For some period previous to their baptism (the usual seasons for which were Easter and Pentecost[1]) the candidates for admission thereto were trained in the doctrines of the faith by the presbyters. A few days before they were to be baptized (the number of days[2] varying at different

[1] Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, 19. Diem baptismo sollemniorem Pascha præstat...exinde Pentecoste ordinandis lavacris latissimum spatium est.

[2] Symbolum competentibus tradi die Dominicâ palmarum. Isidore,

periods) the Creed was delivered to them accompanied with a sermon such as that of St Augustine from which we have before quoted[1]. This ceremony was known as *Traditio Symboli*, the delivery of the Creed. At the time of Baptism each candidate was interrogated upon the articles of the Creed which he had received, and was to return an answer in the words which had been given to him. This was known as *Redditio Symboli*, the repetition of the Creed, and Baptism was the only occasion on which the Creed was introduced into any public service of the Church.

When the scanty light which the New Testament affords us is withdrawn, we are left for a long period in absolute darkness about the history of the Creed. Whatever the cause may have been which operated towards the concealment of the words, it did its work effectually. Much labour has been spent[2] in endeavouring to trace forms of Creed in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and of Justin Martyr, but the passages quoted do not seem to have been meant to be used in this way, if we take them in conjunction with their context. The best of the instances is from St Ignatius' Epistle to the Trallians[3],

de Off. Eccl. lib. I. c. 27. But this was not a settled custom, for in Amalarius Fortunatus, *de Off.* lib. I. c. 8, it is said, "Symbolum feria quarta quartæ hebdomadæ simul cum oratione dominicâ tradebatur reddendum sabbato sancto Paschæ. Africa vero, ætate Augustini symboli seorsim traditio fiebat die ante Pascha serius ocius quinto decimo dieque abhinc octavo redditio." Cf. Augustine, *Serm.* 58 et 59 (Migne, xxxviii. 393 and 400).

[1] See p. 3, note 1.

[2] To see this subject exhaustively treated the reader may with advantage consult Harvey *on the Three Creeds* pp. 34—42.

[3] Ignatii *Ep. ad Trall.* c. ix. Κωφώθητε οὖν, ὅταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλῇ τις, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ Δαβὶδ τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας· ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ παρθένου . . . . ἀληθῶς ἀνέλαβε σῶμα . . . ἔφαγε καὶ ἔπιεν ἀληθῶς, ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ

"Be deaf, then," he says, "when any would speak to you "apart from Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was "descended from David and born from Mary: who truly "was born both of God and of the Virgin...truly took a "body...truly ate and drank, was crucified and died in "the time of Pontius Pilate, yea truly, and not in seeming, "was crucified and died;...and rose after three days, His "Father raising Him up, and after having spent forty "days with the apostles was received up to the Father, "and sits on His right hand waiting till His enemies be "put under His feet." It is enough to exclude this quotation from a list of Creeds that it makes no mention of the Holy Spirit nor of the Father except in His connection with the incarnation of the Son. But the keynote of the whole passage is in the expression "not in seeming"—*οὐ δοκήσει*—which declares the purpose for which it was written. It forms part of a refutation of the early heresy of the *Docetæ*, who derived their name from this word *δόκησις*, and maintained that the earthly body of the incarnate Son was no real body, but a phantom. Against this error the writer inveighs by an earnest repetition of the truth of every stage of the incarnation, and confines himself solely to this portion of the Christian faith. So that though embracing portions of the Creed, as might be expected, since the Creed was to be the rule of preaching, it cannot in any sense be taken as a confession, but as an earnest elaboration of the one doctrine of the true humanity of the Saviour.

We meet indeed with Creeds in the Service-books of

Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς δὲ καὶ οὐ δοκήσει ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν . . . καὶ ἀνέστη διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας συνδιατρίψας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα· καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ περιμένων ἕως ἂν τεθῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

the early Church, and in the addresses of some of the Fathers, to which we are justified in assigning a very high degree of antiquity, and it is not improbable, although the sources from which we derive them are of a later date than the Nicene Council, yet that the Creeds in question are copied from confessions in use at a much earlier period, and, it may be, even anterior to those Creeds to which we can with certainty assign a date. Such a conclusion seems warranted by the extreme brevity of the forms to which we refer, and by the close adherence which they exhibit to the words in which the Sacrament of Baptism was first instituted. And wherever such a simple form is found in use in the Eastern Church we may almost with certainty conclude that it can claim a very high antiquity. For erroneous[1] opinions, especially concerning the unity of the Godhead and on the doctrine of our Lord's incarnation, were so prevalent in the East, even in the first and second centuries, that no compositions except of the most primitive authority could have failed to exhibit traces of the attempts which were made to guard against such errors. This will be very apparent when we come to quote the earliest Creed to which we can give a certain date, that preserved in the works of St Irenæus. This confession is of Eastern[2] origin, though put forth for the

[1] Of the heretics of the second century Saturninus (about A.D. 125) denied both the unity of the Godhead and the real nature of Christ's body, as did also Basilides who lived about the same time. Valentinus, whose date is about A.D. 140, denied that God was the Creator of the world, and divided the divine from the human nature of Christ. Marcion and Cerdo somewhat later (A.D. 176) distinguished between the supreme God and the Creator of the world; and though not teaching that Christ's body was a mere phantom, yet ascribed to it such a nature as would render it incapable of suffering.

[2] The Creeds which have come down to us are of two types, distinguished as *Eastern* and *Western*. The points wherein they differ from each other are mainly these. The Eastern Creeds were invariably expressed in the plural number. "*We believe*" was their commencement, not "*I believe*," and besides inserting the word "*one*" in the first article before "God the Father Almighty," they add after these words "*Maker of Heaven and Earth*," which clause was not inserted in Western Creeds till a comparatively late date, though in the East it was in many cases expanded by the words "*and of all things visible and invisible*." Such an addition was never found needful in the West, where the Church was less troubled with philosophic speculations on the origin of evil and its inherent residence in matter. The Eastern Creeds dwelt at greater length on the details of our Lord's incarnation and sufferings than those of the West, but yet never admitted the words "*He descended into hell*." No Western Creed contains the phrase, "*Whose kingdom shall have no end*," nor did the Orientals insert the expression "*The communion of saints*," nor the Western Church "*one baptism*" in connection with "the remission of sins."

instruction of the Churches of Southern Gaul towards the end of the second century. We shall see that it is, in some of its articles, of a far more elaborate character than our Apostles' Creed, and that it bears traces, especially in the articles which relate to the Father and the Son, of having been composed with special reference to some of the early errors introduced by the Eastern love of philosophic subtleties. Any simpler form therefore which we find to have been used in the Churches of the East may fairly be credited with a date prior to the time of St Irenæus.

For a like reason we should assign a very early date to a brief form of Creed which was in use in the Church of Northern Africa and which can be gathered from the writings of St Cyprian, who was bishop of Carthage about the middle of the third century. We derive a considerable amount of information on the state of the Carthaginian Church from the writings of Tertullian, who was a presbyter of that Church (A.D. 200) about fifty years before the episcopate of St Cyprian.

When our narrative arrives at that date we shall have to quote from three forms of Creed which are found in the writings of this Father, and shall perceive in them manifest traces of an Eastern original. The unity of the Godhead and the creation of the world and all things else by God the Father are asserted in the first article of the Creed which Tertullian gives, and the articles which have reference to our Lord bear a remarkable resemblance to those of Eastern confessions. But the bishop, writing fifty years later, represents the baptismal Creed of his Church as of a very much simpler character. The Creed which he sets forth is apparently one of the interrogative forms of confession used in the Sacrament of Baptism. And it may here be observed that the brief Creeds of which we are at present treating are generally drawn from the Service-books of the early Church, and appear in the interrogative form. But this very circumstance renders it extremely probable that they are the very earliest types of Creed that were used in the several Churches, and that they have been preserved in the Liturgies or in the notices of baptismal services in the exact form in which they were originally set forth.

But to return to St Cyprian. He is writing a letter on a question which was much agitated in his day, and in the discussion of which he took a most prominent part, namely whether those persons who had been baptized by the Novatians[1] should be admitted into the Church with-

[1] Novatian was a presbyter at Rome about A.D. 250, who formed a schism by obtaining or allowing himself to be consecrated bishop of that see in opposition to Cornelius the bishop already elected. The division had its origin in the different views taken of the treatment to be pursued towards those who had fallen away from Christianity. Novatian denied that the Church had any power to grant such persons absolution, but must exclude them from communion for ever. His followers are known as the "Cathari" or "Purists." The schismatic character of their communion explains what St Cyprian meant by saying that "they have no "Church."

out being rebaptized, as though such Baptism even by heretics were valid. The bishop, who disapproved of such a course, and esteemed heretical Baptism as no Baptism at all, argues thus; "Does any one[1] answer me and say that "Novatian holds the same law as the Catholic Church "and baptizes with the same Creed as we do, acknow-"ledges the same *God the Father*, the same *Christ the* "*Son*, the same *Holy Spirit*, and on this account may "have the same power of baptizing, because in the inter-"rogation in Baptism he seems not to differ from us, let "him know, who thinks such a reply may be given, that "there cannot be one law of Creed to us and schismatics "nor the same interrogation. For when they say '*Dost* "'*thou believe in the remission of sins and eternal life* "'*through the Holy Church?*' they are false in their interro-"gation, because they have no Church." Whether the Creed from which St Cyprian was quoting contained more articles than are here cited we are not able to decide. But as we have seen that longer forms of confession were not unknown at Carthage before St Cyprian's time it is not unreasonable to suppose that the bishop was acquainted with them and would have quoted them had it

[1] Cyprian *Ep.* 76 *ad Magnum.* Quod si aliquis illud opponit ut dicat eandem Novatianum legem tenere quam catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos baptizare, eundem nosse deum Patrem, eundem filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare, sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum, non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt; Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam? mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam.

suited his purpose so to do. But he is speaking on the subject of Baptism, and therefore the baptismal Creed is that to which he most naturally alludes, the forms of Creed given by Tertullian being all found in writings of a controversial nature and on that account having a character unsuited for general use. And as the form which we gather from St Cyprian's works contains a mention of each Person of the Holy Trinity and agrees in brevity and character with other complete forms of the baptismal Creed, we are inclined to accept it as the exact Creed which was used in the services of the Church of Carthage at the date when it is quoted and in all probability for a very long time before. If we put his words into the declaratory form they will read thus: "I believe in "God the Father, in Christ the Son, and in the Holy "Spirit; I believe in the remission of sins and eternal "life through the holy Church;" a form which contains little beyond what is deducible[1] from the words used by our Lord at the institution of Baptism[2]. A Creed of

[1] Tertullian deduces the belief in the Church from the faith in the three Persons of the Trinity. *De Baptismo*, 6, quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia quæ trium corpus est. Cf. also *de Virg. Vel.* 21.

[2] A still simpler form of confession which was preserved in the Western Church till a late period, and which is interesting also from containing the renunciation of the devil, which preceded the declaration of belief (and the occurrence of which in this confession connects it closely with such forms as that alluded to by Tertullian *de Cor. Mil.* § 3, see above p. 5), is to be found in Mansi (XII. 375) in the account of a council held at Lipte in Belgic Gaul, A.D. 743. The words are: Forsachistu diabolæ? *Et respons.* Ec forsacho diabolæ. End allum diobol gelde? *Resp.* End ec forsacho allum diobol gelde. End allum dioboles vuercum? *Resp.* End ec forsacho allum dioboles vuercum, und vuordum thuna eren devuoden ende saxnote ende allum them unholdum the hira genotas sint. Gelobistu in Got almehtigan fadaer? *Resp.* Ec gelobo in Got almehtigan fadaer. Gelobistu in Crist Godes suno? *Resp.* Ec gelobo in Crist Godes suno. Gelobistu in halogan Gast? *Resp.* Ec gelobo in halogan Gast.

almost equal brevity is to be found in the Sacramentary of Pope Gelasius[1], which, though set forth at the close of the fifth century, probably represents a very much more ancient use, and the Creed there given is but slightly enlarged in the baptismal service of the Church of Rome at the present day. Of still greater simplicity is the Creed found in the Catechetical Lectures of St Cyril of Jerusalem, which may almost with certainty be accepted as the original baptismal Creed of that Church. It is merely: "I "believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy "Ghost, and in one Baptism of repentance[2]."

It has appeared best to introduce some of these brief forms of confession at this point of our history, even though we cannot with any certainty assign their date. For by their means may perhaps be bridged over the period between the end of the New Testament history and the appearance of the first Creed whose date we know, at the end of the second century. We have observed that the jealousy shewn by the early Church in the concealment of the words of the Creed has operated to deprive us of any records of the symbols of this period. But the time was one in which the Church was, more than at any sub-

[1] This form is as follows. Credis in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem? Credo. Credis et in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum natum et passum? Credo. Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam: Remissionem peccatorum: Carnis resurrectionem? Credo. To this form there is added at the present time, in the baptismal Creed of the Church of Rome, the words "creatorem cæli et terræ" in the first article: "catholicam," after "ecclesiam" and at the conclusion "et vitam æternam." For numerous specimens of interrogatory Creeds the reader is referred to Dr Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 103—116.

[2] Cyril. Hieros. *Catech.* XIX. § 9, *πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας.*

sequent date, called upon to defend itself from the calumnies of traducers. It was peculiarly the age of Apologies. Now these apologetic writings were directed rather to the defence of the moral character of the early Christians and to the clearing of their worship from vile aspersions than to the correction of any errors in doctrine. A contest of a grosser nature than the battle of the Creeds had first to be fought, and we may therefore be almost certain that during this time whatever form of Creed had at the first been introduced into a particular Church would obtain so firm a footing in the baptismal rite that, even after the necessity arose for more elaborate definitions, the primitive simple form would still be preserved[1] in its old place in the admission of new converts to the society. For it was not for their own use that fuller forms of confession were sought by the early Church, but as a bulwark against external assailants. It is from considerations of this kind that we are led to assign to such Creeds as those just quoted a far higher antiquity than the days of St Cyril, St Cyprian or St Gelasius, and have little doubt that in them we have received, if not the first, yet very primitive forms of confession as set forth in the Churches of Africa, Jerusalem and Rome.

We are thus brought to the Creed of St Irenæus. And not only because it is the first to which we can fix a date is it of great interest, but because it forms, at the very outset of the assured history of Creeds, a link of the closest character between the Churches of Eastern and Western Christendom. It was set forth when St Irenæus was bishop of Lyons for the instruction of the Churches of

[1] An instance of such preservation of a primitive brief form is still to be found if we compare the baptismal Creed of the Romish Church with the Apostles' Creed used in her other services, see p. 19.

Southern Gaul, but it had been drawn by its author from the teachings of the bishops of the East. St Irenæus tells us that he had seen Polycarp, who was the disciple of St John and bishop of Smyrna. The south of Gaul was from very early times in close connection with the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor. Marseilles, the ancient *Massilia*, was a colony of the Greeks of Phocæa, and such names as have come down to us of the members of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne declare the Greek origin of the first Christians who came to this part. This connection between Gaul and Asia Minor is evidenced by a letter[1] written from the Churches in the former country to their brethren in the Churches of Proconsular Asia and Phrygia at the time of a fierce persecution which had been commenced against the Gallic Christians. During this persecution St Irenæus was a presbyter of the Church of Lyons. Pothinus, the bishop of the Church, died in consequence of the sufferings he had undergone when his flock was so fiercely assailed. His death occurred A.D. 177, and St Irenæus was chosen to fill the vacant seat. The Creed, which he put forth when bishop in more peaceful times, bears evidence that to him there was no distinction between East and West in the kingdom of Christ, and the enumeration which he makes of nations professing Christianity shews how widely the faith had extended. To an Englishman too it can never be uninteresting to reflect that the Celts mentioned in this enumeration were probably the inhabitants of our own islands. The Oriental character of some of the observances of the early British Church points directly to this conclusion.

The Creed of St Irenæus occurs in the first book of a work which he wrote during his episcopate against all

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1.

heresies. His words are[1], "For the Church, though scat-
"tered through the whole world even to the ends of the
"earth, yet having received from the Apostles and their
"disciples the faith in One God the Father Almighty who
"made heaven and earth and the seas and all that is in
"them, and in one Christ Jesus the Son of God who was
"made flesh for our salvation, and in the Holy Ghost
"who preached through the prophets the dispensations
"[of God] and the advents [of Jesus Christ], and His birth
"of a Virgin, and His suffering and His rising from the
"dead, and the ascension in the flesh of our beloved Lord
"Jesus Christ into heaven and His coming from heaven in
"the glory of the Father, for the consummation of all
"things and to raise up all flesh of the whole human race,
"that according to the good pleasure of the Father invisi-
"ble, every knee of things in heaven and on earth and
"under the earth may bow to Christ Jesus our Lord and
"God and Saviour and King, and every tongue may con-
"fess to Him, and He may execute just judgement on all;
"the spiritual powers of wickedness, and the angels who

[1] St Irenæus, *Contr. Hær.* I. 10, § 1. Ed. Bened. Parisiis, 1710. *ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν, εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἠγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι καὶ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσηται, τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας καὶ ἀγγέλους παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ*

"have transgressed, and become apostate, and the impious
"and unjust, and lawless and blasphemers among men, He
"may adjudge into eternal fire; but, bestowing life on the
"just and holy who have both kept His commandments
"and continued in His love, some from the first and some
"after repentance, He may give them immortality and
"make them partakers of eternal glory. Having received
"this proclamation and this faith, as we before said, the
"Church though scattered through all the world carefully
"keeps it as though dwelling in one house, and believes
"in like manner as though she had but one heart and
"soul, and in accord therewith she preaches and teaches
"and delivers as though she had but one mouth. For
"the languages of the world are dissimilar, but the effect
"of the tradition is one and the same. And in no other
"wise have either the Churches established in Germany
"believed and delivered, nor those in Spain, nor among
"the Celts, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Libya, nor
"those established in the middle of the world. But as the
"sun, God's creature, is one and the same in all the world,
"so too the preaching of the truth shines everywhere and

ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ· τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις, καὶ ὁσίοις, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τετηρηκόσι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτοῦ διαμεμενηκόσι, τοῖς μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ζωὴν χαρισάμενος ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσηται, καὶ δόξαν αἰωνίαν περιποιήσῃ. Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, ὡς προέφαμεν, ἡ ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν· καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη. Καὶ γὰρ αἱ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή. Καὶ οὔτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἱδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, οὔτε ἐν Κελτοῖς, οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὔτε ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὔτε αἱ κατὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου ἱδρυμέναι. Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας πανταχῇ φαίνει, καὶ φωτίζει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν.

"enlightens all men who wish to come to the knowledge "of the truth. And neither will he who is very powerful "in language among those who preside over the Churches "say other than this (for the disciple is not above his "master) nor will he who is weak in the word impair the "tradition. For as the faith is one and the same neither "he who is very able to speak on it adds thereto nor does "he who is less powerful diminish therefrom."

We may accept this form as typical of the fullest expansion which the Creed had received in the Eastern Church by the end of the second century. An examination of it will demonstrate how large a portion corresponds closely to the form which we have received as put forth A. D. 381, by the second Council, and which we use as the Nicene Creed. We shall have a more appropriate place for the comparison of the two, when we enter upon the history of the Nicene Creed, and shall find that, with the exception of such phrases as were introduced in express reference to the errors of Arius and Macedonius, there is little in the Creed of the fourth century that cannot be found in that of the second. And in one article the resemblance becomes more complete if we add to the Creed already cited a sentence from another form of Creed to be found in the same work[1] of St Irenæus. In this second confession he fixes the date of the crucifixion by employing the words, common to the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene, "suffered under Pontius Pilate." In other points this Creed, which is of a briefer character than the former, presents us with no articles which are not contained in

Καὶ οὔτε ὁ πάνυ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων ἕτερα τούτων ἐρεῖ (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον) οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν. Μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης, οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν ἐπλεόνασεν οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον ἠλαττόνησε.

[1] Lib. III. cap. 4. For the text see Appendix to Chap. I.

that which we have quoted. The like remark applies to a third and still shorter form of his[1] which seems, as Dr Heurtley observes, to be framed on the model of St Paul's words (1 Cor. viii. 6) "There is one God the Father from "whom are all things and we in Him, and one Lord "Jesus Christ by whom are all things and we by Him[2]."

Next to be noticed in order of time come the Creeds of the Church of Northern Africa, and their forms of confession which have been preserved are found in the writings of Tertullian and St Cyprian. Both these Fathers, as has been said, were connected with the Church of Carthage, the former as presbyter, the latter as bishop. Tertullian when he attained the middle age of life was, by the envy of the Roman clergy, driven to adopt the erroneous opinions of Montanus[3]. But all the works from which we have to quote were written before he became a Montanist and so date anterior to A.D. 200. One of his tracts is on Baptism, and from it much information is to be gathered concerning the ancient mode of celebration of that Sacrament. But some expressions contained in it have led critics to the opinion that this is one of the works written after his lapse into error[4]. This is however of less importance to our enquiry, for, though mention is made in this tract of the confession used in Baptism, no form of words is given. And where the Creed does occur in his works he

[1] In lib. IV. c. 33. For the text see Appendix to Chap. I.

[2] See Heurtley's *Harm. Symb.* p. 13.

[3] Montanus, a native of Mysia, who probably had been a priest of Cybele before his conversion, is said to have taught his followers that he had received a fuller revelation than that given to the apostles. From his habit of speaking in the first person in his prophetic ravings, some have said that he gave himself out as God Himself, others that he claimed to be the Paraclete. His aim seems to have been to introduce greater austerities into the Christian profession.

[4] See Bp. Kaye's *Eccl. History of Second and Third Centuries*, p. 47.

adds the fullest testimony to its primitive and Apostolic character. "This rule," he says[1], "has come down from "the commencement of the Gospel." In another place[2] before giving a sketch of the words of the Creed he speaks of it as "the Rule of faith, one, single, immutable, "unalterable." But it is clear from the varied words of his three forms that in this statement he alludes rather to the sense than to the words of his confession. His most lengthy form is as follows[3]. "The Rule of faith is that whereby "we believe that there is really one God and no other "but the Creator of the world who produced all out "of nothing by His Word sent forth first of all things. "That Word is called His Son, who variously appeared to "the patriarchs under the name of God and was always "heard in the prophets, and at last descended, through "the Spirit and Power of God the Father, into the Virgin "Mary, was made flesh in her womb and born of her, "lived as Jesus Christ, then preached a new law and new "promise of the kingdom of heaven, wrought miracles, "was fixed on the cross, rose again the third day, was

[1] Tert. *adv. Prax.* c. 2. Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurrisse.

[2] Tert. *de Virg. Vel.* c. 1. Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola, immobilis et irreformabilis.

[3] Tert. *de Præscr. Hæret.* c. 13. Regula est autem fidei...illa scilicet qua creditur, unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit, per Verbum suum primo omnium demissum. Id Verbum filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei varie visum a patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex Spiritu Patris Dei et virtute in Virginem Mariam; carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum egisse Jesum Christum. Exinde prædicasse novam legem et novam promissionem regni cœlorum; virtutes fecisse, fixum cruci, tertiâ die resurrexisse, in cœlos ereptum sedisse ad dexteram Patris misisse vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti, qui credentes agat, venturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ et promissorum cœlestium fructum, et ad profanos adjudicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione.

"taken into heaven and sat down at the right hand of "God. He sent in His place the power of the Holy Spirit "to influence believers, and will come with glory to take "His holy ones into the enjoyment of life eternal and the "promises of heaven, and to judge the wicked to eternal "fire, after a revival of both body and soul with the re-"storation of the flesh[1]." It is unnecessary to quote the other two versions of the Creed which Tertullian records[2], for they, like the forms of St Irenæus, only add to the words already given the notice of the time of our Lord's crucifixion, but we may remark that while the author in one place dwells on the close similarity that existed between the Creeds of the African and the Roman Church, there are yet many points in which Tertullian's forms have more of the Eastern character than was common in Western Creeds of a somewhat later date. All his forms, for instance, mention the unity of God and dwell on the doctrine that the world and all things therein were made by Him, and we cannot but be reminded of our present Nicene Creed by the phrase "according to the Scriptures[3]," which occurs in the account of our Lord's sufferings in one of them, and by the words "He will come with glory" in the form which we have given at full length.

Most of these distinguishing features are omitted in a Creed of the same Church of Carthage as given a few years later by St Cyprian, who was martyred A.D. 258. The text of it has been already[4] quoted, and the only notice here demanded is of those variations which bring it into

[1] *De Præscrip. Hæret.* c. 36. Videamus quid (i.e. ecclesia Romana) didicerit, quid docuerit. Cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesseratur. Unum Deum novit, Creatorem universitatis, et Christum Jesum ex Virgine Maria, Filium Dei Creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem.

[2] But for the text see Appendix to Chap. I.

[3] Secundum scripturas, *adv. Prax.* c. 2.

[4] P. 17.

what we know as the Western form of the Creed. The words "*One*" God and "*Maker of heaven and earth*" are not inserted in the first article. But one of the clauses of St Cyprian's Creed seems to be an addition to what Tertullian set forth. It contains the first mention of "the "Holy Church." We have as yet only met with an allusion to the Church in the introduction to the Creed of St Irenæus, where the words form no portion of any article. But it has been shewn that Tertullian accepted all that St Cyprian has expressed by his assertion before quoted that where the Father Son and Holy Ghost are believed in, there is the Church. By combining therefore the forms given by the presbyter and the bishop, a moderately complete idea is gained of the Creed of the Church of Carthage in the middle of the third century, and when we compare it with the form round which all the Western symbols are naturally grouped, and into which they were finally merged, that is the Apostles' Creed, we find but two articles, the Descent into Hell, and the Communion of Saints, which have no place in these African symbols.

The next Creed to be noticed is connected with the church of Rome. Novatian, by whom it is set forth, was at first a presbyter at Rome about A.D. 260 and afterwards was irregularly ordained bishop of that Church, and thus originated the schism against which St Cyprian wrote. In the Creed as set forth by him, there is to be observed, what we have before alluded to, that extreme brevity which is a feature of all the Creeds which emanated from the Roman Church. Rufinus[1], in speaking of the additions

[1] Rufinus, *in Symb. Apost.* § 3. In ecclesia tamen urbis Romæ hoc non deprehenditur factum, quod ego propterea esse arbitror, quod neque hæresis ulla illic sumsit exordium :...in cæteris autem locis, quantum intelligi datur, propter nonnullos hæreticos addita quædam videntur, per quæ novellæ doctrinæ sensus crederetur excludi.

which the symbols in other Churches had received, accounts for the shorter forms in use in Rome from the fact that the Church there was less troubled by heresies. This is easy to be understood. In even earlier times the intellect of the Latin race was practical rather than speculative, and her sons loved feats of prowess rather than subtleties of philosophy. On the contrary the Oriental Churches, whose teachers had drunk largely at the fountains of Plato and Aristotle, were constantly disturbed by ingenious theories to explain the mysteries which should have been accepted as a faith. The words of Rufinus are: "Yet in the Church of Rome this (viz. additions to the "Creed) is not found, which I think is because no heresy "has had its rise thence...but in other places clauses seem "to have been added on account of some heretics, whereby "the sense of their novel doctrine was supposed to be "excluded." And St Ambrose testifies in like manner to the unaltered preservation of the early Roman Creed[1]. We are prepared therefore to find that the Creed set forth by Novatian is little more than the baptismal formula. He speaks of it as *the Rule of truth*, a name which is almost identical with the "*preaching or proclamation of "truth*" used by St Irenæus, and his exposition of it is this[2]: "The Rule of truth demands that first of all we should "believe in God the Father and Lord Almighty, that is, "the most perfect Maker of all things; the same Rule of "truth teaches us to believe after the Father, also in the

[1] St Ambrose, *Ep.* 42, § 5, *ad Syricium* (Migne, XVI. 1125). Credatur symbolo apostolorum quod ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit et servat.

[2] Novatian, *de Trin.* chapp. 1. 9. 29 (Migne, III. 886). Regula exigit veritatis ut primo omnium, credamus in Deum Patrem et Dominum omnipotentem, id est, rerum omnium perfectissimum conditorem. Eadem Regula veritatis docet nos credere, post Patrem, etiam in Filium Dei,

"Son of God, Christ Jesus, our Lord God, but the Son of "God. Moreover the order of reason and the authority "of faith admonishes us, when the words and Scriptures "of the Lord are well considered, to believe after these "things also in the Holy Ghost of old promised to the "Church but given at the due and fitting time." This is hardly anything but an elaboration of the names and offices of the three Persons of the Trinity, but cannot fail to be of interest as bearing witness to the adherence to a Scriptural type in the Creed of the mother city of the West.

That this Roman symbol might be exhibited in close connection with the African Creed, and that thus the reader might understand what interpretation is to be put on Tertullian's statement about the accord of the two Churches, we have omitted to mention in its chronological sequence the Creed of Alexandria, which we may gather from the works of Origen. That acute thinker left a work in Greek *On first principles*, the greater part of which in the original language has unfortunately been lost, but a Latin translation made by Rufinus still remains, from which may be seen what were the articles of the Creed as set forth in Origen's day in the metropolitan Church of Northern Egypt. And in quoting this Creed it may be necessary to observe that the errors[1] into which Origen

Christum Jesum Dominum Deum nostrum, sed Dei Filium. Sed enim ordo rationis et fidei auctoritas, digestis vocibus et literis Domini, admonet nos, post hæc credere etiam in Spiritum Sanctum, olim ecclesiæ repromissum sed statutis temporum opportunitatibus redditum.

[1] Origen's peculiar opinions were the result of a desire to reconcile philosophy with the Gospel. His orthodoxy on the doctrine of Christ's divinity is defended by Bishop Bull (*Def. Fid. Nic.* II. 9). He held the non-eternity of punishment, and seems to have inclined to what was afterwards known as Pelagianism in his exaltation of the freedom of the will, and his questioning the necessity of grace. His Creed shews him to

was betrayed, and which his admirers afterwards augmented, were not of such a character as to interfere with the language of the symbol which he gives. The disciple of Clemens Alexandrinus and of Ammonius could hardly be expected to be free from the spirit of that philosophy for which his teachers had such a fame. Before stating what the Creed is, Origen dwells on its source and authority in language of this nature. "The apostles delivered certain "articles of faith to be received, because they were con- "vinced of their necessity; they left the reasons of them to "be sought out by those who have a greater love than "others for true wisdom." He then proceeds to give a sketch of these dogmatic teachings of the apostles[1]. "The "form of those things which are manifestly delivered by "the preaching of the apostles is this. First, that there "is one God who created and framed everything, and who, "when nothing was, brought all things into being; God, "from the first creation and forming of the world...and "that this God in the last days...sent our Lord Jesus "Christ...This just and good God the Father of our Lord "Jesus Christ, Himself gave the law and the prophets and "the Gospels, and He also is the God of the apostles, and "of the Old and New Testament. Then secondly, that "Jesus Christ Himself who came, was born of the Father

have been free from the Gnostic tendencies so usually accompanying a philosophic proclivity.

[1] Origen, *de Principiis*, lib. I. c. 4. Species vero eorum quæ per prædicationem apostolicam manifeste traduntur, istæ sunt. Primo quod unus Deus est, qui omnia creavit atque composuit, quique cum nihil esset, esse fecit universa, Deus a primâ creaturâ et conditione mundi,...et quod hic Deus in novissimis diebus...misit Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum... Hic Deus justus et bonus Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi legem et prophetas et evangelia ipse dedit, qui et apostolorum Deus est, et veteris et novi Testamenti. Tum deinde quia Jesus Christus ipse qui venit ante omnem creaturam natus ex Patre est. Qui cum in omnium conditione

"before all creation. And when in the formation of all "things He had served the Father, for by Him all things "were made, in these last times emptying Himself, was "made man incarnate while He was God, and though made "man, remained God as He was before: took a body like our "body, differing in this point only, that it was born of the "Virgin and the Holy Ghost. And since this Jesus Christ "was born and suffered in truth and not in appearance, "He bore the death common to all men and truly died; "for He truly rose from the dead, and after His resurrec- "tion having conversed with His disciples He was taken up. "They also set forth that the Holy Ghost was united in "honour and dignity with the Father and the Son." Herein may be traced the same earnest resistance to the errors of the Docetæ, and of those who followed them, which has been before[1] noticed in the passage quoted from St Ignatius. And we see how the articles of this Creed have expanded to resist the heresies of Carpocrates and Valentinus. God, and not the angels, made the world, and therefore matter is not necessarily the source of evil. Christ is no mere phantom, as Saturninus, Cerdo and Tatian maintained, but the very Son of God. Nor is the God of the New Testament different from that of the Old as had been taught by Cerdo, Marcion and Basilides. Alexandria, of all the world, at this time was the place where heretical

Patri ministrasset, per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt, novissimis temporibus se ipsum exinaniens homo factus incarnatus est cum Deus esset, et homo factus mansit quod erat Deus. Corpus assumpsit nostri corpori simile, eo solo differens quod natum ex virgine et Spiritu Sancto est. Et quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus et passus est in veritate, et non per phantasiam, communem hanc mortem sustinuit, vere mortuus: vere enim a mortuis resurrexit, et post resurrectionem conversatus cum discipulis suis assumptus est. Tum deinde honore et dignitate Patri et Filio sociatum tradiderunt Spiritum Sanctum.

[1] P. 13.

speculations were rife, and Origen's Creed is modelled accordingly; thus illustrating the truth of what Epiphanius[1] said long afterwards when shewing how professions of faith became expanded. "On this account," says he, (that is, because of heresies) "both you and we and all "the orthodox bishops and generally all the holy Catholic "Church, in opposition to the heresies that have crept in, "teach in this wise, in harmony with the faith of those "holy fathers which has been previously set down, especi- "ally to those who come to holy baptism, that they may "pronounce and teach it likewise."

Intimately connected with the Creed of Origen must that confession be regarded which was put forth by Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea, afterwards called Thaumaturgus. When a young man he had the benefit of the lectures of Origen, who was teaching at Cæsarea in Palestine while banished from Alexandria. At the time of his departure for his home in Pontus, Gregory, in gratitude for the advantages which he had reaped from this instruction and intercourse, composed a panegyric oration as a farewell tribute to his accomplished master, and it is in this work that the Creed occurs. That its author was a man who had deeply studied such subjects is manifest from the events of his after life. He opposed with great earnestness the doctrinal errors of Paul of Samosata, and almost the last act of his life was to take a prominent part in the Synod of Antioch A.D. 266, in which those errors were condemned. St Basil the Great, who succeeded him in the episcopate, speaks of him in terms of the highest

[1] Ancoratus, CXXI. τούτου χάριν ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ πάντες οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι ἐπίσκοποι καὶ συλλήβδην πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία πρὸς τὰς ἀνακυψάσας αἱρέσεις ἀκολούθως τῇ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων πατέρων προτεταγμένῃ πίστει, οὕτως λέγομεν, μάλιστα τοῖς τῷ ἁγίῳ λουτρῷ προσίουσιν, ἵνα ἀπαγγέλωσι καὶ λέγωσιν οὕτως.

reverence[1]. His Creed is as follows[2]: "There is one God, "the Father of the living Word, which is the substantive "wisdom, and eternal power and image of God: the perfect "origin of the perfect: the Father of the only begotten "Son. There is one Lord, one of one, God of God, the "image and likeness of the Godhead, the mighty Word, "the wisdom which embraces the constitution of all things, "and the power which produces all creation; the true Son "of the true Father, invisible of the invisible, and incor- "ruptible of incorruptible, and immortal of immortal, and "everlasting of everlasting. And there is one Holy Ghost, "having his existence from God, and being manifested by "the Son, namely to mankind, the likeness of the Son, "perfect of perfect, Life the cause of Living things: the "sacred fount, sanctity, the Minister of Sanctification: in "whom is revealed God the Father, who is over all things "and in all things; and God the Son, who is through all "things. A Perfect Trinity not divided nor differing in "glory and eternity and sovereignty. Neither indeed is "there anything created or subservient in the Trinity, "nor introduced as though not there before but coming "in afterwards, nor indeed has the Son ever been without

[1] Basil M., *de Spiritu Sancto*, § 74, and *Ep.* 75.

[2] Gregory, *Orat. Panegyr. in Orig.* Εἷς Θεὸς, Πατὴρ Λόγου ζῶντος, Σοφίας ὑφεστώσης, καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ χαρακτῆρος ἀϊδίου· τέλειος τελείου γεννήτωρ· Πατὴρ Υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς. Εἷς Κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνου, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ· χαρακτὴρ καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς Θεότητος, Λόγος ἐνεργής· Σοφία τῶν ὅλων συστάσεως περιεκτική, καὶ Δύναμις τῆς ὅλης κτίσεως ποιητική· Υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς, ἀληθινοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀόρατος τοῦ ἀοράτου, καὶ ἄφθαρτος ἀφθάρτου, καὶ ἀθάνατος ἀθανάτου, καὶ ἀΐδιος ἀϊδίου. Καὶ ἓν Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφηνὸς, δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, εἰκὼν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τελείου τελεία· ζωὴ ζώντων αἰτία· πηγὴ ἁγία, ἁγιότης, ἁγιασμοῦ χορηγός· ἐν ᾧ φανεροῦται Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ Θεὸς ὁ Υἱὸς, ὁ διὰ πάντων. Τριὰς τελεία, δόξῃ καὶ ἀϊδιότητι καὶ βασιλείᾳ μὴ μεριζομένη, μηδὲ ἀπαλλοτριουμένη. Οὔτε οὖν κτιστόν τι, ἢ δοῦλον ἐν τῇ Τριάδι, οὔτε ἐπείσακτον, ὡς πρότερον μὲν

"the Father nor the Spirit without the Son, but the "Trinity is ever the same unvarying and unchangeable." Though this Creed is perhaps in character more suited to the oration of which it is a part than to be a form of Confession for the use of a church, there is no doubt that it was held in high esteem as a Creed. The passages already alluded to from St Basil shew this; and such a testimony to the Divinity of the third Person in the Godhead and to the doctrine of the Undivided Trinity would be of the greatest value, coming from such lips, when heresies like that of Macedonius began to prevail.

There is yet another Creed which is to be included among those anterior to the Nicene Council, though the proceedings connected with its publication, so far as we know them, took place afterwards. When the fathers assembled at Nice had put forth their symbol expressing the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father in opposition to Arius and his followers, every effort was used by the Arian party to obtain the acceptance of another Creed which should not contain the "Homoousion." Numerous councils were held to further their views, and in one of the earliest of these, held at Antioch A.D. 341, four[1] Creeds seem to have been set forth, in the hope that one of them might find acceptance in place of the obnoxious symbol of Nice. Sozomen expressly states this to have been the intention of the assembled bishops, though their first exposition or letter concerning the faith, given by Socrates, distinctly disclaims any connection with the Arian heresy. Their language is, "We have never been followers of Arius,"

οὐχ ὕπαρχον, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπεισελθόν· οὔτε οὖν ἐνέλιπε ποτὲ Υἱὸς Πατρὶ, οὔτε Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' ἄτρεπτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος ἡ αὐτὴ Τριὰς ἀεί.

[1] See Mansi, II. 1339—1343, also Socr. *H. E.* II. 10 and 18; and on the whole council, see Soz. *H. E.* III. 5, and on the third of these creeds Athanasius, *de Synodis* (Migne, *Patr. Gr. Lat.* XXVI. col. 726).

but their persistent endeavour in each of the formulas to omit or find a substitute for the crucial term bespeaks their feeling towards the Council of the three hundred and eighteen. It is with their second Creed that we are now concerned. They stated that they had found it in manuscript, and that it was the very writing of Lucian who had been martyred in Nicomedia. This Lucian was a presbyter at Antioch, and had suffered martyrdom A.D. 311, under Maximinus. The Arian party no doubt thought that the fate of its author would be an argument in favour of the reception of his Creed: added to which he was known to have been a learned man who had devoted himself to elucidating and amending the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament Scriptures.

The words of his exposition are these[1]. "We believe, "in accordance with evangelic and apostolic tradition, in "One God the Father Almighty, the former and maker of "all things, and in one Lord Jesus Christ His Son, God "the only begotten, by whom all things were made, who "was begotten of the Father before all ages, God of God, "whole of whole, One of One, perfect of perfect, King of "King, Lord of Lord, the living Word, Wisdom, Life, the "true Light, the way of truth, the resurrection, the Shep-"herd, the door, unchangeable and unalterable, the immu-"table likeness of the Godhead and substance and power "and counsel and glory of the Father: The firstborn of

[1] Socr. *Hist.* II. Πιστεύομεν ἀκολούθως τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ παραδόσει, εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργόν τε καὶ ποιητήν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ Θεὸν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· τὸν γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὅλον ἐξ ὅλου, μόνον ἐκ μόνου, τέλειον ἐκ τελείου, βασιλέα ἐκ βασιλέως, Κύριον ἀπὸ Κυρίου· λόγον ζῶντα, σοφίαν, ζωὴν, φῶς ἀληθινὸν, ὁδὸν ἀληθείας, ἀνάστασιν, ποιμένα, θύραν· ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον· τὴν τῆς θεότητος οὐσίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαράλ-

"every creature, who was in the beginning with God, the "Word of God, according to what is said in the Gospel. "'And the Word was God,' by whom all things were made, "and in whom all things consist: who in the last days "came down from above, and was born of a Virgin accord-"ing to the Scriptures: and became man, the mediator be-"tween God and man, and the Apostle of our Faith and "the Lord of life, as he says, 'I have come down from "'heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him "'that sent me:' Who suffered for us, and rose for us the "third day, and ascended into heaven and sitteth on the "right hand of the Father, and again is coming with glory "and power to judge the living and dead. And in the "Holy Spirit given for consolation and sanctification and "perfection to those who believe, as also our Lord Jesus "Christ appointed to his disciples saying, 'Go ye, teach all "'nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and "'of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,' clearly of the Father "who is really a Father, and of the Son who is really "a Son, and of the Holy Ghost who is really the Holy "Ghost, these names being assigned not vaguely nor idly,

λακτον εἰκόνα· τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως· τὸν ὄντα ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, λόγον Θεὸν, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκε· τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν κατελθόντα ἄνωθεν, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ παρθένου κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς· καὶ ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον, μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, Ἀπόστολόν τε τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς, ὡς φησι, ὅτι Καταβέβηκα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με. Τὸν παθόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀναστάντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ εἰς παράκλησιν καὶ ἁγιασμὸν καὶ εἰς τελείωσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσι δεδόμενον· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς διετάξατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς λέγων· Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· δῆλον ὅτι Πατρὸς ἀληθινῶς ὄντος Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ ἀληθινῶς Υἱοῦ ὄντος, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἀληθῶς ὄντος Πνεύματος

"but indicating the special personality glory and order of "those named, so that in Personality they are three, but in "Harmony one. Having then this faith before God and "Christ we anathematize all heretical false doctrine. And "if any one, contrary to the holy right faith of the Scrip- "tures, teaches and says that there has been or existed "a season or time before the Son of God was, let him "be accursed. And if any one says that the Son is a "created being as one of the creatures, or generated as one "of things generated, and not as the divine Scriptures "have handed down each of the forenamed statements; or "if a man teaches or preaches any thing else contrary to "what we have received, let him be accursed. For we "truly and clearly both believe and follow all things from "the Holy Scriptures that have been transmitted to us by "the Prophets and Apostles." The last sentences containing the anathemas are couched in the tone of the Nicene Creed, against which these followers of Arius were striving, and must not be considered as any part of the formulary set forth by Lucian. They were probably added at this time to bring the creed of Lucian into a somewhat closer likeness to the Nicene symbol, which the members of the Council hoped in this way to supersede. The clauses on

ἁγίου· τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀργῶν κειμένων ἀλλὰ σημαινόντων ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἰδίαν ἑκάστου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ὑπόστασίν τε καὶ δόξαν καὶ τάξιν. Ὡς εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία· τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν. Ταύτην οὖν ἔχοντες τὴν πίστιν, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πᾶσαν αἱρετικὴν ἀναθεματίζομεν κακοδοξίαν. Καὶ εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ὑγιῆ τῶν γραφῶν ὀρθὴν πίστιν διδάσκει λέγων, ἢ καιρὸν ἢ αἰῶνα εἶναι ἢ γεγονέναι, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Καὶ εἴ τις λέγει τὸν υἱὸν κτίσμα ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων ἢ γέννημα ὡς ἓν τῶν γεννημάτων, καὶ μὴ ὡς αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ παραδεδώκασι τῶν προειρημένων ἕκαστα· ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλο διδάσκει ἢ εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβομεν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν παραδεδομένοις ὑπό τε τῶν προφητῶν καὶ Ἀποστόλων, ἀληθινῶς τε καὶ ἐμφανῶς καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ἀκολουθοῦμεν.

the Incarnation are very full, but as Lucian's death had taken place more than ten years before the adoption of the phrase "consubstantial" into the Creed, that word of course is absent. The Arians, as Sozomen says[1], for some reason declining to say that the Son was consubstantial with the Father, dwelt instead thereof on the immutability and unchangeableness of His Godhead, as asserted in this Creed, and that He was the unalterable likeness of the substance, counsel, power and glory of the Father, and the firstborn of every creature.

In considering this Creed as one composed before the Nicene Council, we have at present no concern with the motive for which it was put forward at the Synod of Antioch, but need only observe that the expressions, if this be taken as a type of the Symbols of the East just before A.D. 325, were gradually approaching nearer and nearer to the form of that which became fixed at the first and second Councils.

From an inspection of the Creeds which we have enumerated we may safely conclude that, in whatever manner composed, there was some original typical form, to which all the Creeds in early times corresponded in sense if not in words; and if we put the Creed of Tertullian side by side with that of St Irenæus, we shall conclude that the primary variations and additions made to the baptismal formula were of the character which was subsequently impressed on all Eastern Creeds. In approaching nearer to the end of the period already examined, we discover that in the Roman Church there was no cause at work to lead to such extensive additions as were needed by the Oriental Christians, and that therefore the Western Creed was of a shorter form and of a less philosophic character. Such

[1] *H. E.* III. 5.

articles of the Western Creed as did not appear before this time in any symbol of either East or West have been already pointed out; it remains only to notice what parts of the Creed adopted in the first General Council have already been included in the Creeds which can be found anterior to it. And here we are only able to find those words which were inserted as a special guard against the Arians. These are in the phrases ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, "of the substance of the Father," and ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, "of one substance with the Father." Every other clause of the Nicene Creed has occurred in one or other of the forms already given. To neither of these expressions would the Arian party agree, and the acceptance of the Creed containing them by the Church Catholic was the most emphatic condemnation of the heresy of Arius.

Here however we must remark that there is a departure in these expressions from a characteristic of all the previous symbols. It had been the boast of every form put forth up to this time, that though something might, as Tertullian asserted, be added to our Lord's words, yet whatever was added was either to be found in the Gospels or had been received from the apostles. The Creed of the Church was to Irenæus "the faith received from the apo-"stles and their disciples." Tertullian's rule of faith had "come down from the commencement of the Gospel:" and the symbol of Novatian was grounded on a due consideration of the sayings and teachings of our Lord. Origen states, in the introduction to his Creed, that he was setting forth what the apostles had delivered, and the Creed which the Arians quoted at Antioch is framed "in accordance with evangelic and Apostolic tradition." But now on the development of error, words must be employed which had no place in the Gospels or in the Epistles, and

the first of these is the "Homoousion" of the Nicene fathers. Whence it came and why it was needed will appear as we proceed. It is only to be observed in conclusion, that those who had been the cause of the introduction of a term not to be found in Holy Writ were, as might have been expected, loudest in their outcry against it. And for a century or more their language was constantly that of the Sirmian Synod[1], "that all "mention of *substance* should be omitted from a profession "of faith, as it was an expression which none could un-"derstand, and was not to be found in the Scriptures." And thus they strove to raise an argument against the orthodox upon language which their own teaching had rendered necessary[2].

[1] Soz. IV. 6.

[2] For instances of the pertinacity with which the Arians objected to the word ὁμοούσιος, see Soz. *H. E.* bk. II. chapp. 18 and 21; also bk. III. chapp. 5, 13 and 19.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

I. *Creeds from St Irenæus.*

Rufinus' rendering of the second creed of St Irenæus (*cont. Hær.* III. 4) is as follows:

Quid autem si neque Apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi Traditionis quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant Ecclesias? Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum eorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes,

In unum Deum credentes, fabricatorem cœli et terræ et omnium quæ in eis sunt per Christum Jesum Dei filium, qui propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem eam quæ esset ex Virgine generationem sustinuit ipse per se hominem adunans Deo; et passus sub Pontio Pilato, et resurgens et in claritate receptus, in gloria venturus, salvator eorum qui salvantur et judex eorum qui judicantur et mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis et contemptores Patris sui et adventus ejus.

The original text of the third creed (*cont. Hær.* IV. 62) is preserved and runs thus:

πάντα συνέστηκεν·

εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα πίστις ὁλόκληρος· καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, πεισμονὴ βεβαία· καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ τὰς οἰκονομίας Πατρός τε καὶ Υἱοῦ σκηνοβατοῦν καθ' ἑκάστην γενεὰν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καθὼς βούλεται ὁ Πατὴρ, γνῶσις ἀληθής.

ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχὴ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύστημα, κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου.

II. *Creeds from Tertullian.*

Tertull. (*De Virg. Vel.* I.)

Regula quidem fidei una omnino est sola immobilis et irreformabilis ·

credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem mundi conditorem, et filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos per carnis etiam resurrectionis.

Hac lege fidei manente, cetera jam disciplinæ et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis operante scilicet et proficiente usque in finem gratia Dei.

He also gives (*adv. Praxeam*, 2) the following form:

Nos vero et semper, et nunc magis ut instructiores per Paracletum, deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis,

Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione quam *οἰκονομίαν* dicimus, ut unici Dei sit

et Filius sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in Virginem et ex ea natum, hominem et Deum, filium hominis et filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum, hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum, secundum scripturas, et resuscitatum a Patre et in cœli resumptum, sedere ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos; qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem suam, a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,

Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse, etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante Praxeam hesternum probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa novellitas Praxeæ hesterni.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE NICENE AND CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREEDS.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἑκάτερα ἐξεκαίετο ἡ σπουδὴ, καὶ μείζων, οἷα φιλεῖ, ἀνεκινήθη ἔρις.

Soz. *H. E.* I. 15.

THE Arian heresy, which led to the assembly of the first General Council and the issuing of the first authoritative symbol, takes its name from Arius a presbyter of the church of Alexandria. This man appears to have been, even from his first admission to orders, a troublesome member of the ministry. The bishop who admitted him to the diaconate, Peter of Alexandria, found it necessary to visit him with a suspension from his office for having taken part against himself and in favour of Meletius. During the brief episcopate of Achillas, who succeeded Peter, he was restored, and subsequently became a presbyter. But he was of a restless character, and his previous education rendered him prone to speculate on and strive to reduce to formal language points of doctrine on which hitherto no question had been raised in the Church. The doctrine which he set forward was one which denied the eternal Divinity of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. The language in which he stated his belief, and which

afterwards was in part included in the anathema now for the first time attached to the Creed, was[1] "that the Son of "God was produced from things non-existent, and that "there was a time when He was not, that He was of His "free will capable of virtue or vice, was also a creature "and a thing produced."

The bishop, who was now Alexander, endeavoured by convening a congress of divines to convince Arius of his errors, but without success, and at last was compelled to excommunicate him. Alexander communicated with foreign bishops and with the Emperor Constantine on the troubles of the Church, and the latter, in his great anxiety for the unity of the Church into which he had so recently been received, sent as a special mediator Hosius bishop of Cordova; but this intervention was as ineffectual as the previous conference had been. Meanwhile Arius put himself in active communication with all such bishops as he knew or supposed to be favourable to his opinions. Among these he found the warmest supporter in Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, who was a valuable partizan from his great influence with the Emperor. Other bishops shewed themselves inclined to support the excommunicated presbyter, and some of them wrote to Bishop Alexander on his behalf. It is thought that Eusebius of Cæsarea, the ecclesiastical historian, had at first a considerable leaning to the side of Arius, though he acquiesced, but with some hesitation, in the ultimate conclusion of the Nicene Council. This contention within the Church spread throughout all the range of Christendom, and was more serious than any external attack under which she had suffered. "For," as Theodoret

[1] Sozomen. *H. E.* 1. 15, *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ εἶναί ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ αὐτεξουσιότητι κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς δεκτικὸν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα.*

observes[1], "it was not now, as heretofore, strangers and "enemies who attacked the Church, but men of the same "tribe, who lived under the same roof and sat at the "same table, moved their tongues for weapons against "one another, nay rather, those who were members one "of another and formed parts of one body, were in array "against one another[2]." The prevalence of this internal dissension accounts for the novel proceeding which Constantine adopted for allaying the disquietude. He summoned a council of bishops from every part of the Christian world, that by general conference they might maintain the unity which was now so sorely threatened. And in answer to his invitation there came together, beside presbyters and deacons, three hundred and eighteen bishops, from which circumstance the Nicene Council is often spoken of as the synod of the three hundred and eighteen. This conclave met at Nice in Bithynia A.D. 325. The emperor himself was present at their discussions, and at the commencement addressed the assembly, urging in the strongest terms that they should strive for unity. It is worthy of remark, that though the Bishop of Rome could not be present in person on account of his advanced age, he was represented by two presbyters, whose signatures were affixed to the decrees of the council next after that of Hosius of Cordova, who subscribed first. Preeminent among those who took part against the Arian errors was Athanasius, then a deacon of the Alexandrian Church. Eusebius of Cæsarea wrote an account[3] of the proceedings of the council, which enables us to understand what took

[1] Theod. *H. E.* 1. 6.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* 1. 6, says that Christianity was made a subject of ridicule in the theatres in consequence of these contentions.

[3] It is given in Socr. *H. E.* 1. 8.

place. This bishop, as was natural if his Arian proclivities had been known among his flock before the Council, seems to have felt it necessary to write to Cæsarea and account for being found among those who were ranged in favour of the Homoousion. The substance of his letter is that, since they have probably already heard by report of what has passed, he thinks it well to give them accurate information. He had himself set forth to the emperor and council the faith which he and his church had received from the bishops of former time both in catechizing and at baptism, and as he had learnt it from Scripture, and believed and taught it. This symbol was[1]: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, "Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one "Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, light "of light, life of life, the only-begotten Son, the firstborn "of every creature, begotten of God the Father before all "ages: by whom also all things were made, who for our "salvation assumed flesh and lived among men, and suf- "fered and rose the third day, and ascended to the Father, "and will come again with glory to judge quick and dead. "We believe also in the Holy Ghost, believing that each "of these is and exists, the Father truly a Father, and the "Son truly a Son, and the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost,

[1] Socr. I. 8, *πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἁπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον· δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον· καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἥξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Τούτων ἕκαστον εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν πιστεύοντες, Πατέρα ἀληθῶς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν ἀληθῶς Υἱὸν, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀληθῶς ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καθὼς καὶ Κύριος*

"as also our Lord when sending forth His disciples to "preach said: 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the "'name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy "'Ghost.' And concerning these things we affirm that "we so hold and so think, and have of old so held, and "will so hold till death, and stand steadfast in this faith "anathematizing all ungodly heresy. We testify before "Almighty God and our Lord Jesus Christ that we have "thought all this in heart and soul ever since we knew "ourselves and we now so think and speak in truth, being "able to shew by evidence and to convince you that we, "in past times, so believed and preached accordingly." The last sentence seems to point to a dread lest the bishop should seem inconsistent in the eyes of his flock. He proceeds to observe that this Creed was acceptable to all, and that the emperor urged its acceptance, with the addition only of the word "Homoousion" *consubstantial*, which word the emperor explained as meaning nothing of a material character, or capable of division or separation, for an immaterial intellectual and incorporeal nature could not be liable to any corporeal affection.

Eusebius then gives the symbol of the Council, and it may be that this was framed on the model of that which he himself had set forth, but having already seen other forms of symbol in which nearly the whole of the Nicene

ἡμῶν ἀποστέλλων εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς εἶπε· πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Περὶ ὧν καὶ διαβεβαιούμεθα οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ οὕτω φρονεῖν καὶ πάλαι οὕτως ἐσχηκέναι καὶ μέχρι θανάτου οὕτω σχήσειν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνίστασθαι τῇ πίστει ἀναθεματίζοντες πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἄθεον· ταῦτα ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ ψυχῆς πάντα πεφρονηκέναι, ἐξ οὗτερ ἴσμεν ἑαυτούς, καὶ νῦν φρονεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν ἐξ ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρούμεθα· δεικνύναι ἔχοντες ἐκ' ἀποδείξεων καὶ πείθειν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσι χρόνοις οὕτως ἐπιστεύσαμέν τε καὶ ἐκηρύσσομεν ὁμοίως.

confession is contained, we need not conclude that the form resolved upon accorded more with that of the Church of Cæsarea than with those of some other churches. It is however to be observed that the conclusion of his confession seems to have set the example of the anathema attached to their creed by the three hundred and eighteen.

The profession which they authorized was this[1], called in the report of Eusebius *τὸ μάθημα*, "the instruction." "We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of "all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus "Christ the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, "that is of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light "of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, of "one substance with the Father, by whom all things were "made, both things in heaven and things on earth: who "for us men and for our salvation descended and was "incarnate, made man, suffered and rose the third day; "ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the quick "and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost.

"But those who say that there was a time when He "[*i. e.* the Son of God] was not, or that He had no ex- "istence before He was begotten, or that He was formed "of things non-existent, or assert that the Son of God "is of a different substance or essence, or is created,

[1] Socr. *H. E.* I. 8, *Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ· φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα· ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς· ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἢ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, ἢ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν, ἢ*

"mutable, or variable, these men the Catholic and Apo- "stolic Church of God anathematizes."

Eusebius continues his epistle with an explanation of the sense in which he had agreed to the use of the term "consubstantial," as indicating that the Son of God had no point of likeness with created beings but was in every respect like the Father alone. He also adds that the anathema attached to the Creed can grieve none, for it is merely a prohibition of the use of such unscriptural expressions as had been employed by Arius and his party in their attempts to define the mysteries of the Godhead. According to Theodoret[1] the like objection was raised by the Arians to the word "Homoousion." It was not to be found in Scripture, but he represents that the non-scriptural expressions employed by the heretics had forced upon the Church the employment of a non-scriptural term in refutation. It is worthy of mention, as shewing the guarded employment of the symbol of the faith, that Sozomen in his history of the Council declines to record the words of the Creed there set forth[2]. "In order," says he, "that the symbol of the faith then agreed upon may "be secure and clear for the time to come, I thought it "needful to append hereto the very words on these points "to shew their truth. But I have followed the counsel of "some pious friends who understand such matters, and "who advised me that it is right that only the initiated "and the priests should repeat and hear such things.

ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία.

[1] Theod. *H. E.* I. 8.

[2] Soz. *H. E.* I. 20, *ἵνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑξῆς χρόνον βέβαιον καὶ δῆλον τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάρχῃ τὸ σύμβολον τῆς τότε συναρεσάσης πίστεως ἀναγκαῖον ᾠήθην ἐκ ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτὴν τὴν περὶ τούτων γραφὴν παραθέσθαι. εὐσεβῶν δὲ φίλων, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστημόνων, οἷα δὲ μύσταις καὶ μυστα-*

"For it is not unlikely that some uninitiated person will "meet with this book."

Arius and some others refused to submit themselves to the authority of the Council, and so his excommunication was confirmed, and he was banished by the Emperor from Alexandria. Many of his former supporters yielded to the general voice, and among them Eusebius of Nicomedia. When all the business of the Council had been despatched, the Emperor, who had previously arranged that the conveyance of the bishops to the Council should be at the public cost, courteously received and gave presents to the Fathers, and dismissed them with the hope that the peace of the Church was now secured[1]. The friends of Arius busied themselves to bring about in some way or other his restoration to the Church, and the Emperor having been satisfied by a profession of faith[2] which was presented to him by Arius, wished that he should be again received. To his reception, Athanasius, who had become bishop of Alexandria after the death of Alexander, refused to consent. Every effort was used, especially by Eusebius of Nicomedia, to asperse Athanasius to the Emperor, and on account of the accusations laid against that bishop a council was

γωγοῖς μόνοις δέον τάδε λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν ὑφηγουμένων, ἐπῄνεσα τὴν βουλήν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπεικὸς καὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων τινὰς τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ ἐντυχεῖν. A passage of which the language seems to indicate that in the time of Theodoret something akin to Lord King's interpretation of the word "Symbol," that is, a form of initiatory words such as was used in the mysteries of the heathen world, had been imported into the meaning of the term. This seems more probable than that at first the word was used in such a sense. Cf. King, *History of the Apostles' Creed*, ch. I.

[1] On the whole council see Mansi, II. 635 seqq.

[2] The confession, called βιβλίον μετανοίας, is given by Socr. *H. E.* I. 25. It does not contain the word ὁμοούσιον, merely saying of Christ that he is τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ (i. e. Θεοῦ) πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων γεγενημένον Θεὸν λόγον.

summoned to meet at Tyre, but was afterwards removed to Jerusalem. This was in the year A. D. 335, and the Council of Jerusalem accepted the confession of Arius. Thereupon the assembled bishops wrote to the Church of Alexandria urging on them the propriety of receiving him again. The following is an extract from their Synodal Letter[1]: "And it is fitting that you, knowing in "truth what we have done, and how the men have been "admitted to our community, and have been received by "such a holy Synod, should yourselves most eagerly wel- "come unity and peace among your own members; espe- "cially as the statements of the Faith set forth by them "preserve inviolate the apostolic tradition and teaching "acknowledged by all." The restoration of Arius however seems only to have been achieved after the banishment of Athanasius, a result which the calumnies of his opponents were able to achieve, but when restored Arius shewed himself the same turbulent and restless spirit as before. Nor did the party which had sympathized with him fail to exert themselves to the utmost in opposition to the symbol of the Nicene Fathers.

A point has now been reached when it may be useful, before proceeding with the history, to put side by side with this symbol of the first Council the earlier Creeds of the second century, in order that we may see how slight are the additions made by this synodal exposition to the forms which had been current in the Church for a century and a half before. This therefore we proceed to do,

[1] Mansi, II. 1160, καὶ πρέπει γε ἀληθῶς γνόντες ὑμᾶς τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ ὡς ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ ἄνδρες, παρεδέχθησάν τε ὑπὸ τῆς τοσαύτης ἁγίας συνόδου προθυμότατα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν τὰ οἰκεῖα μέλη συνάφειάν τε καὶ εἰρήνην. ὅτι μάλιστα τὰ τῆς ἐκτεθείσης ὑπ' αὐτῶν πίστεως ἀναμφήριστον σώζει τὴν παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμολογουμένην ἀποστολικὴν παράδοσίν τε καὶ διδασκαλίαν.

changing only the order of sentences in the earlier confessions that each may stand opposite to the clause of the Nicene Creed with which it corresponds.

The Nicene Creed, A.D. 325.	Creed of St Irenæus, A.D. 180.	Creed of Tertullian, A.D. 200.
1. We believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of all things both visible and invisible	The Church believes in one God the Father Almighty who made heaven and earth and the seas, and all that is in them	We believe that there is really one God and no other but the Creator of the World, who produced all out of nothing,
2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God the only begotten, begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten not made, of one substance with the Father; By whom all things were made both those in heaven and those in earth;	And in one Christ Jesus our Lord the Son of God	And in his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord,
3. Who for us men and for our salvation came down, and was made flesh having become man;	Who was made flesh for our salvation;	Who descended, through the Spirit and power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and born of her, lived as Jesus Christ,
4. Who suffered	And in His suffering	Was fixed on the cross,
5. And rose on the third day;	And His rising from the dead,	Rose again the third day,
6. Ascended into heaven,	And the ascension in the flesh of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ into heaven,	Was taken into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God.

The Nicene Creed, A.D. 325 (*continued*).	Creed of St Irenaeus, A.D. 180 (*continued*).	Creed of Tertullian, A.D. 200 (*continued*).
7. Is coming to judge the quick and dead:	And His coming from heaven in the Glory of the Father, that He may execute just judgment on all:	He will come with glory to take His holy ones into the enjoyment of life eternal and the promises of heaven, and to judge the wicked to eternal fire.
8. And in the Holy Ghost.	And in the Holy Ghost.	He sent in His place the power of the Holy Spirit.

The whole of the words of St Irenæus and Tertullian, it will be perceived, are not given in the above comparison but only such portions as relate to the clauses of the Nicene Symbol, and a glance will suffice to shew that, with the exception of the enlargement of the second Article, to assert the Divinity and Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, the symbols of the second century are as explicit as the definition of the first Council.

To return to the course of the history.

In the year A.D. 341 a council was assembled at Antioch in Syria in which the Arian sympathizers appear to have been in a majority. Their anxiety to effect some substitution for the expression of consubstantiality is evident in all the proceedings of the Council. There seem to have been four forms of symbol set forth by them, in each of which the obnoxious expression is wanting. Socrates says expressly that their true motive was to get rid of the confession of consubstantiality, though they declare most emphatically that they are not of the Arian party, as will be seen from their letter concerning the faith[1]. "We have "never been of the party of Arius. For how shall we who

[1] Socr. *H. E.* II. 10, ἡμεῖς οὔτε ἀκόλουθοι Ἀρείου γεγόναμεν. Πῶς γὰρ

"are bishops be followers of a presbyter? Nor have "we received any other faith contrary to that set forth "from the beginning; but we as having examined and "tested his faith have rather accepted him than followed "him. And you will learn this from our statements. For "we have been taught from the beginning to believe in "one God of all, the Maker and Contriver of all things "that can be thought of or perceived: And in one only-"begotten Son of God, existent before all ages, and being "with the Father who begat Him, by whom all-things both "visible and invisible were made; who in the last days, "according to the good pleasure of His Father, came down, "and took flesh of the Blessed Virgin, and having fulfilled "all His Father's counsel, suffered, and rose again and "ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of God, "and is coming to judge the quick and dead and to remain "a King and God for ever. We believe also in the Holy "Ghost, and if it be needful to add, we believe also in the "resurrection of the flesh, and everlasting life." It will be seen that this form includes no expression which might not be accepted as well by Arians as by the orthodox. Finding

ἐπίσκοποι ὄντες ἀκολουθήσομεν πρεσβυτέρῳ; Οὔτε ἄλλην τινὰ πίστιν παρὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκτεθεῖσαν ἐδεξάμεθα. Ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς ἐξετασταὶ καὶ δοκιμασταὶ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν προσηκάμεθα ἥπερ ἠκολουθήσαμεν. Καὶ γνώσεσθε ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων. Μεμαθήκαμεν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἰς ἕνα τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν πιστεύειν τῶν πάντων νοητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν δημιουργόν τε καὶ προνοητήν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενῆ, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ συνόντα τῷ γεγεννηκότι αὐτὸν Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τά ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα· τὸν καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν κατ' εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς κατελθόντα, καὶ σάρκα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου ἀνειληφότα, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρικὴν αὐτοῦ βουλὴν συνεκπεπληρωκότα, πεπονθέναι, καὶ ἐγηγέρθαι, καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεληλυθέναι, καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς καθέζεσθαι· καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ διαμένοντα βασιλέα καὶ Θεὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ προσθεῖναι, πιστεύομεν καὶ περὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου.

however that such a degree of vagueness would gain no favour with either party they put forward the exposition (ἔκθεσις) which we have already quoted[1] as the Creed of Lucian the martyr. In that form instead of "consubstan-"tial" the Son of God is declared to be "invariable and "unchangeable, and the immutable image of the God-"head and substance and power and counsel and glory of "the Father." The sanctity which attached to the author of this form, and the fact that the expression (οὐσία) "sub-"stance" was actually contained in it was, doubtless, the ground on which they hoped for its acceptance. But according to Athanasius[2] there was next put forward an exposition by Theophronius, Bishop of Tyana, which, though varying the phrases descriptive of the Incarnation of the Son, seems but little more calculated to meet with acceptance than the first. The words which refer to Christ speak of Him as[3] "God, the only-begotten "Son of God, the Word, Power and Wisdom, our Lord Jesus "Christ, by whom are all things, who was begotten of the "Father before the worlds, perfect God of perfect God, being "different in person from God the Father." In this form also occurs an expression implying the eternity of Christ's kingdom, similar to that which was seen in the first form set forth by the Council which has been already quoted, though the words in the latter form are not so full. It is merely said here that Christ is coming again with glory and power to judge the quick and dead, *and will endure for ever.*

[1] Chap. I. p. 36.

[2] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* XXVI. 724, "*Athanasius de Synodis.*"

[3] τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (i. e. Θεοῦ) τὸν μονογενῆ Θεὸν, Λόγον, δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, Θεὸν τέλειον ἐκ Θεοῦ τελείου καὶ ὄντα πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ὑποστάσει.

By this same Council, or by some members of it, was finally set forth the exposition presented to Constans the emperor of the West by a deputation from the Council of Antioch[1]. It is the same form which was afterwards put forth as the first Creed A.D. 351 by the Council of Sirmium. Though it does not admit the "Homoousion" into the Creed, an endeavour is made to assimilate the anathema with which it concludes to that appended to the Symbol of the Nicene Fathers[2]. They say, "We "believe in one God the Father Almighty, Creator and "Maker of all things, from whom the whole family in "heaven and earth is named: And in His only-begotten "Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who before all ages was "begotten of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, by "whom all things both in heaven and on earth were made, "both visible and invisible: who is the Word and Wisdom "and Power and Life and the true Light: who in the "last days was made man for us and born of the Holy "Virgin, was crucified, dead and buried, and rose from the "dead the third day, and ascended into heaven, and "sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and is coming in "the end of the world to judge the quick and the dead, "and to give to each man according to his works, whose

[1] Socr. *H. E.* I. 18.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* II. 18, *Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, κτίστην καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων, ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται. Καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ· φῶς ἐκ φωτός· δι' οὗ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τά τε ὁρατὰ, καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα· λόγον ὄντα, καὶ σοφίαν, καὶ δύναμιν, καὶ ζωὴν, καὶ φῶς ἀληθινόν· τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν δι' ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου· τὸν σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα· καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς· καὶ καθισθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· οὗ ἡ*

"kingdom being unchangeable will remain to boundless "ages. For He will be sitting at the right hand of the "Father, not only in this life but also in the life to come. "And in the Holy Ghost, that is the Paraclete, whom "Christ, having promised to His Apostles after His ascent "into heaven, sent to teach and remind them of all things, "through whom the souls of those who truly believe in "Him shall be sanctified. And those who say that the Son "was from things non-existent, or of a different substance "and not from God, and that there was a time when He "was not, the Catholic Church considers as strangers."

Having failed in their appeal to the Western Emperor, after three years the Arian party again assembled at Antioch, and in the Council of A.D. 344 set forth the profession of faith known, because of its great length, as the *μακρόστιχος*[1]. It commences with the Creed which has been last given, that is the fourth of the former council, and continues at considerable length to comment on the last clause of it. But all their explanations had no weight with the Church of the West, for in the Council of Milan which was assembled A.D. 346 to consider the propriety of accepting this Oriental exposition, it was decided, in consonance with the general feeling of the West, that the Nicene Creed was that to which the Church would adhere. If we may rely on the testimony of a letter[2] of Pope

βασιλεία ἀκατάπαυστος οὖσα διαμενεῖ εἰς τοὺς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας. Ἔσται γὰρ καθεζόμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τουτέστι τὸ Παράκλητον· ὅπερ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄνοδον, ἀπέστειλε διδάξαι καὶ ὑπομνῆσαι πάντα· δι' οὗ καὶ ἁγιασθήσονται αἱ τῶν εἰλικρινῶς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότων ψυχαί. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὸν υἱὸν ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἦν ποτὲ χρόνος ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλοτρίους οἶδεν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

[1] It is given Socr. *H. E.* II. 19.

[2] Ep. II. Mansi, III. 202.

Liberius to the Emperor Constantius, the Eastern representatives shewed themselves in no favourable light on the refusal of their propositions.

There can be no doubt that one great cause of the progress of Arianism was the favour shewn to the supporters of that doctrine by the Emperor Constantius. Socrates says[1] of him that his predilections were in favour of the Arian party, and that he desired to disseminate the Arian doctrine throughout the churches. It was doubtless this conduct of his which drew forth the vehement language of Hilary the Bishop of Poictiers. Addressing the Emperor he says[2], "I declare to thee, Constantius, what "I should have said to Nero, what I should have spoken "against Decius and Maximian. Thou fightest against God, "thou ragest against the Church, thou persecutest the "saints, thou hatest the preachers of Christ, thou abolishest "religion, thou tyrant, not in things human but in things "divine."

The Imperial fostering of Arianism was not long in producing fruit. Teachers were soon found prepared to go to greater lengths than Arius, and the most prominent among them was Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium in Pannonia. This man did not admit that Christ was a divine being, but taught, as did Sabellius and Paul of Samosata, that he was merely man. With this teaching the Arian party shewed no sympathy and a synod was convened A.D. 351 in Sirmium to consider the best means of extirpating the erroneous doctrine. On this occasion, as we have before observed,

[1] *H. E.* II. 37.

[2] The letter is given Mansi, III. 521, "Proclamo tibi, Constanti, quod Neroni locuturus fuissem, quod ex me Decius et Maximianus audirent, contra Deum pugnas, contra ecclesiam sævis, sanctos persequeris, prædicatores Christi odisti, religionem tollis, tyrannus non jam humanorum sed divinorum.

the assembled bishops put forward the fourth Creed of the previous Council of Antioch. Its composition is ascribed to Mark of Arethusa by Socrates[1] on this second occasion of its appearance. But to it was now appended a series of anathemas designed to guard against mistaken opinions on the relation between the Father and the Son. They moreover compiled an exposition in Latin for transmission to the Western Churches, of which form Socrates in the same chapter gives a Greek version. The most noticeable feature of this document is the statement made in the middle of it about the prevalent point of discussion in all these Creeds, "Since many have been disturbed "about that which in Latin is called *substantia* and in "Greek οὐσία, that is, in order that there might be more "accurate knowledge concerning the '*homoousion*' or the "'*homœousion*,' as it is called, it is altogether inexpedient "that such words should be mentioned, or expositions "about them given in the Church, for this cause and consideration that there is nothing written about them in "the Holy Scriptures, and because they are beyond human knowledge and comprehension." This mode of terminating all controversy was, we shall find, adopted by the Emperor when the Arian teaching had reached its fullest extent.

This latter of the above-mentioned forms was presented by the council to Photinus for his subscription, but he challenged his opponents to a controversy on the points at issue, and, though the decision was pronounced against him, he retired into banishment rather than retract his opinions. Nor were the assembled bishops content with what they had put forth, but endeavoured, though in vain, to withdraw it from circulation, and composed another

[1] *H. E.* II. 30.

profession which, however, they kept secret until it was set forth in the Council of Ariminum A.D. 359.

This Council was the result of a desire on the part of Constantius to convene a General Council of both the East and West in Italy. The Arians, in anticipation of this Synod, prepared the third Sirmian Creed as above stated, but dreading a coalition between the Nicene party and the Semiarians in such an assembly as was proposed, they induced the Emperor to have two councils, one in the East and one in the West, at the same time, since they thought they would be more likely to defeat their opponents if they engaged them in detail. Accordingly the Western fathers met at Ariminum. Here the first act of the Arians was to put forward the Sirmian Creed which had hitherto been kept secret. It is a notable production since it first introduced the phrase which now stands in the Apostles' Creed, "He descended into hell." The words run thus[1]: "The Catholic faith was set forth at Sirmium on the "twenty-third of May in the presence of our lord Constan- "tius, in the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius "Eusebius and Hypatius. We believe in one the only "and true God, Almighty Father, the Creator and Worker "of all things: And in one only-begotten Son of God, be- "gotten of the Father without passion, before all ages "and before all beginning, before all conceivable time and "before all comprehensible thought, by whom the ages

[1] Socr. *H. E.* II. 37, Ἐξετέθη πίστις ἡ καθολικὴ ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Φλαβίου Εὐσεβίου καὶ Ὑπατίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων, ἐν Σιρμίῳ, τῇ προένδεκα καλανδῶν Ἰουνίων. Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα τὸν μόνον καὶ ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων· καὶ εἰς ἕνα μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ πρὸ πάσης ἀρχῆς, καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ἐπινοουμένου χρόνου, καὶ πρὸ πάσης καταληπτῆς ἐπινοίας γεγεννημένον ἀπαθῶς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ τε αἰῶνες κατηρτίσθησαν, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· γεγεννημένον δὲ μονογενῆ, μόνον

"were framed, and all things were made: who was be- "gotten the only-begotten by the Father, One of One, God "of God, like to the Father who begat Him, according to "the Scriptures, whose generation no one knows except "only the Father who begat Him. We know that this His "only-begotten Son, by His Father's ordinance came from "heaven to do away sin, and was born of the Virgin "Mary, and conversed with His disciples, and fulfilled every "dispensation according to His Father's will: was crucified, "and died, and *went down into the lower world*, and ordered "things therein. Whom the door-keepers of Hades beheld "with trembling: and He rose again the third day and con- "versed with His disciples. And when forty days were "fulfilled He ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right "hand of the Father, and shall come at the last day in His "Father's glory, to give to each man according to his "works. And in the Holy Ghost, whom the only begotten "Son of God Jesus Christ Himself promised to send to "the race of mankind as the Comforter, according to that "which is written: 'I go to my Father, and will ask Him, "'and He shall send you another Comforter the Spirit of

ἐκ μόνου ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὅμοιον τῷ γεννήσαντι αὐτὸν Πατρὶ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· οὗ τὴν γέννησιν οὐδεὶς ἐπίσταται, ἢ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν Πατήρ. Τοῦτον ἴσμεν τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν, νεύματι πατρικῷ παραγενόμενον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας· καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἀναστραφέντα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκονομίαν πληρώσαντα κατὰ τὴν πατρικὴν βούλησιν· σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα· ὃν πυλωροὶ ᾅδου ἰδόντες ἔφριξαν· καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τριτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἀναστραφέντα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν. Καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν πληρουμένων, ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός· καὶ ἐλευσόμενον τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δόξῃ τῇ πατρικῇ, ἀποδιδόντα ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὃ αὐτὸς ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπηγγείλατο πέμψαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸν Παράκλητον, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου, καὶ παρακαλέσω τὸν Πατέρα μου, καὶ ἄλλον

"'Truth. He shall receive of mine, and shall teach you "'and bring all things to your remembrance.' And as for "the term '*οὐσία*' *substance* employed by the fathers for "more simplicity, but bringing offence because it is un- "known to the people from its non-occurrence in the "Scriptures, it pleases us that it should be done away, and "that in respect of God no mention at all should be made "of *substance* for the future, because the divine Scriptures "have nowhere made mention of the substance of the "Father and the Son. But we say that the Son is *in all "things like the Father*, as the Holy Scriptures say and "teach." In the last sentence is contained the phrase whereby the Arian party hoped to bridge over the separation between themselves and the Semiarians and to get rid of the "Homoousion." But the orthodox members of the Council exclaimed against it, and would be content with nothing less than a complete renunciation of the tenets of Arius, such as that contained in the Nicene symbol, which they once more confirmed. They also sent ambassadors with an epistle to Constantius wherein they state that "It "seems out of place and unlawful to change any of those "matters which have been rightly and justly defined, and "those which have been publicly decreed at Nice before "Constantine of most glorious memory." But their opponents had too much influence at court, and Ursacius and Valens contrived that this embassy should be detained a

παράκλητον πέμψει ὑμῖν, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται, καὶ διδάξει καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα. Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῆς οὐσίας διὰ τὸ ἁπλούστερον ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων τεθεῖσθαι, ἀγνοούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν λαῶν σκάνδαλον φέρειν, διὰ τὸ μήτε τὰς γραφὰς τοῦτο περιέχειν, ἤρεσε τοῦτο περιαιρεθῆναι καὶ παντελῶς μηδεμίαν μνήμην οὐσίας ἐπὶ Θεοῦ εἶναι τοῦ λοιποῦ, διὰ τὸ τὰς θείας γραφὰς μηδαμοῦ περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ οὐσίας μεμνῆσθαι. Ὅμοιον δὲ λέγομεν τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα, ὡς αἱ ἅγιαι γραφαὶ λέγουσίν τε καὶ διδάσκουσιν.

long time without a hearing from the Emperor, and when he did receive them, it was only to bid the Council wait still longer for his answer. They wrote to him again, but receiving no reply most of them departed to their homes, and on the remnant was urged by the Arian party the acceptance of this fresh exposition. The Emperor moreover, professing to be enraged at the departure of the bishops before his reply was given, visited many of them with his royal displeasure, and ejected them from their sees.

The next step that was taken by the Arian leaders was even more reprehensible. Passing from Italy into Thrace, they convened an assembly of bishops at Niké in that country, and putting the creed set forth at Ariminum into Greek, published it to the Church as the Nicene symbol, desiring, as Socrates observes[1], to delude the more simple by the resemblance that existed between the names Nicæa and Niké.

In the meantime the Council of the Eastern Church was gathered at Seleucia in Isauria. Here a dissension was early caused in their debates by a section of the bishops headed by Acacius bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine. He put forward a creed of his own, and the members of the assembly who were opposed to him were so little anxious to preserve the "consubstantial" in the Creed of Nicæa, that the retention of that Creed was never seriously urged, and it was only when the bishop of Tarsus insisted on adhering to the Creed formerly set forth at Antioch, that Acacius and his adherents left the council. By this proceeding the debates were virtually at an end, but the Acacian party afterwards, at the direction of Constantius, accepted the Creed which had just before been forced on the Council of Ariminum.

[1] *H. E.* II. 37.

It must not be supposed that during all this violence of Arian agitation the orthodox party were doing nothing. A council was assembled at Sardica A.D. 347, which condemned the doctrines of Arius and maintained the Creed of the Nicene Council. But their deliberations were not undisturbed, and eventually the Semiarians (who alone could be expected to have sympathy with the orthodox section) separated from the rest and formed a distinct assembly at Philippopolis in Thrace, where they declared their adherence to the μακρόστιχος of the second Council of Antioch. But in setting forth that Creed they appended to it only the first two anathemas of the original[1].

Again, A.D. 362, in a council held at Alexandria there arose a most interesting discussion, wherein it was agreed that the word ὑπόστασις should be taken as the equivalent of "*person*." The members of this assembly express, in their Synodical Epistle, their approval of the conduct of the Council of Sardica in adhering to the Creed of the first general council. They also give a reason for this approval. "Lest," say they, "the faith written in "Nicæa should be deemed insufficient, and an excuse be "given to those who would ever be writing and giving defi- "nitions of the faith[2]." They also declare that the Son is to be held to be ὁμοούσιος, and anathematize those who say that the Holy Ghost is "a creature made by the Son[3]."

In the following year, A.D. 363, a council was again held at Alexandria in which the bishops assembled ex-

[1] In Mansi, III. 137, the Latin Version of the Synodal epistle adds in the creed the words "Credimus et in sanctam ecclesiam, et in remissionem peccatorum, in carnis resurrectionem in vitam æternam." For this there is nothing in the Greek of the μακρόστιχος.

[2] Mansi, III. 348, ἵνα μὴ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γραφεῖσα ὡς ἀτελὴς οὖσα νομισθῇ καὶ πρόφασις δοθῇ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πολλάκις γράφειν καὶ ὁρίζειν περὶ πίστεως.

[3] κτίσμα δι' υἱοῦ γεγονός.

pressed their adhesion to the Council of Nice. In their letter to the new Emperor Jovian there is a noteworthy passage upon the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. "Neither "do they," is their language, "alienate the Holy Ghost "from the Father and the Son, but rather they join the "Holy Ghost in the glory of the Father and the Son in "the one faith of the Holy Trinity, so that there is one "Godhead in the Holy Trinity[1]." With like earnestness the orthodox Council of Antioch, A.D. 363, in the synodal epistle to the Emperor expresses adherence to the symbol of Nice.

The death of Constantius, A.D. 361, deprived the Arians of their great supporter, and the general toleration proclaimed by Julian, after his renunciation of Christianity, was rather advantageous than otherwise to the advocates of the Nicene exposition of faith. So that the history of the Creed may now be considered as undisturbed until the second general council held at Constantinople, A.D. 381. This council was convened under the Emperor Theodosius, and among other designs was intended to suppress the erroneous teaching of the "Pneumatomachi," whose opinions had taken their rise from Macedonius, formerly bishop of Constantinople. As their name imports, these heretics denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and against them the final clauses of the Creed, expressive of the equal divinity of the third Person of the Holy Trinity, are said to have been added. But here we must observe that this Constantinopolitan Symbol, which we now use (with some small though important additions) as the Nicene

[1] Mansi, III. 368, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπηλλοτρίωσαν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συνεδόξασαν αὐτὸ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος πίστει διὰ τὸ καὶ μίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι θεότητα.

Creed, occurs word for word in a work written by Epiphanius seven years before the date of the second council[1]. That writer also adds to it the Nicene anathemas, and virtually calls it the Nicene Creed. It would seem, therefore, that these additions had been made to the Nicene form in some churches before the assembly of the second council.

It is to be observed also that none of the three early ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, give this (or any) symbol as set forth at the Constantinopolitan Council. The fullest allusion to the doctrinal enactments of the synod is contained in the last-named historian, where the synodical letter of the fathers is given at length. There we find them saying[2]: "For whether we "have endured persecutions or afflictions, or imperial "threats, or the cruelty of governours, or any other trial "from the heretics, we have borne them for the sake of "the evangelic faith ratified at Nice in Bithynia by the "three hundred and eighteen fathers. For it is right that "this should be accepted both by you and us and all "those who do not pervert the word of the true faith,

[1] Epiphanius, Ancoratus (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* vol. XLIII. col. 232). On the date of this work see the Synopsis at page 11 of the above volume. Epiphanius adds after *πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων* in article 2, the words *τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς*, a quotation from the creed of the first council; but this is his only variation. He adds also the following words, which prove that he considered this the Nicene Creed (col. 233 ut supra): *καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ πίστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ [ἐν] τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει ἀπὸ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ τριακοσίων δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν*, where the number of the fathers shews which council is intended.

[2] Theod. *H. E.* v. 9, *ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἴτε διωγμοὺς, εἴτε θλίψεις, εἴτε βασιλικὰς πειλὰς, εἴτε τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων ὠμότητας, εἴτε τινὰ πειρασμὸν ἕτερον παρὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ὑπεμείναμεν, ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας παρὰ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα ἐκτὼ πατέρων κυρωθείσης ὑπέστημεν. Ταύτην γὰρ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μὴ διαστρέφουσι τὸν λόγον της ἀληθοῦς πίστεως συναρέσκειν δεῖ· [ἣν μόλις ποτὲ] πρεσβυτάτην τε οὖσαν, καὶ*

"which we preserve with labour as being the most an-"cient and in accordance with baptism, and which teaches "us to believe in the name of the Father and of the Son "and of the Holy Ghost, that is, a belief in the one God-"head, power and substance of the Father, Son and Holy "Ghost, so likewise in the coequal dignity, and coeternal "kingdom, in three perfect hypostases, that is, three per-"fect persons. So we do not admit the error of Sabellius, "which confounds the persons by removing their charac-"teristics, nor does the blasphemy of the Eunomians, and "Arians, and Pneumatomachi have any force, which "divides the substance, the nature, or the Divinity, and "for the uncreated consubstantial, and coeternal Trinity, "introduces one which is more recent and created, and of "varying substance." Language like this would hardly have proceeded from persons who were about to add to or alter the Creed of the first Council. It seems more probable that if they put forward the Niceno-Constantinopolitan symbol they did so as considering it to be, in that form, the work of the earlier Council. Both Sozomen[1] and Socrates[2], in their summaries of the proceedings of the council, say that the first decision of the fathers was that the faith ratified by the Council of Nicæa should remain inviolate. Nor was it that the subject was slightly dis-

ἀκόλουθον τῷ βαπτίσματι, καὶ διδάσκουσαν ἡμᾶς πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δηλαδὴ θεότητός τε καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας μιᾶς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος πιστευομένης, ὁμοτίμου τε τῆς ἀξίας καὶ συναϊδίου τῆς βασιλείας, ἐν τρισὶ τελείαις ὑποστάσεσιν, ἤγουν τρισὶ τελείοις προσώποις, ὡς μήτε τὴν Σαβελλίου νόσον χώραν λαβεῖν συγχεομένων τῶν ὑποστάσεων, εἴτουν τῶν ἰδιοτήτων ἀναιρουμένων, μήτε μὴν τὴν τῶν Εὐνομιανῶν καὶ Ἀρειανῶν καὶ Πνευματομάχων τὴν βλασφημίαν ἰσχύειν, τῆς οὐσίας ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἢ τῆς θεότητος τεμνομένης, καὶ τῇ ἀκτίστῳ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ καὶ συναϊδίῳ Τριάδι μεταγενεστέρας τινὸς ἢ κτιστῆς ἢ ἑτεροουσίου φύσεως ἐπαγομένης.

[1] Soz. *H. E.* VII. 9. [2] Soc. *H. E.* v. 8.

cussed or vague expressions used in treating of it. The language of Socrates is explicit on this point. One of the chief supporters of the Macedonian heresy in this council was Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus. Speaking of the emperor's endeavour to bring over this prelate to the orthodox opinions Socrates says[1]: "The emperor and the bishops "who held the same faith spared no effort to bring Eleu- "sius and his party into unity with them...but they, caring "little for praise or rebuke, preferred to maintain the "Arian doctrine rather than agree to the '*Homoousion.*' "After giving this answer they departed from Constan- "tinople and wrote to the various cities charging them by "no means to assent to the faith of the synod of Nicæa." It was the creed of the first council then, or what they deemed such, to which these men were opposed, and which we must consider this council to have affirmed, in accordance with the language of all the writers who were most nearly contemporary with the events.

In the collection of the proceedings of the council we find the first canon as explicit as possible on the inviolate preservation of the Nicene Creed. The resolution is[2], "that "the faith of the three hundred and eighteen fathers who "assembled at Nicæa in Bithynia be not annulled, but that "it remain valid, and that every heresy be anathematized, "and particularly that of the Eunomians, or Anomœans,

[1] Soc. p. 222, Ὁ οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως ἐπίσκοποι παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο ὁμονοῆσαι αὐτοῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἐλεύσιον,.....Οἱ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τῶν παραινέσεων καὶ τῶν ἐλέγχων φροντίσαντες μᾶλλον ἔφθασαν τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἱρεῖσθαι ὁμολογεῖν δόξαν ἢ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ συντίθεσθαι. Ταῦτα ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀπηλλάγησαν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ἔγραφον δὲ τοῖς κατὰ πόλεις παρεγγυῶντες, μηδαμῶς ὁμονοῆσαι εἰς τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου.

[2] Mansi, III. 557, 1*st canon of the Council of Constantinople*, A.D. 381, μὴ ἀθετεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν τῶν πατέρων τῶν τριακοσίων δεκαοκτὼ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας συνελθόντων, ἀλλὰ μένειν ἐκείνην κυρίαν καὶ ἀναθεματισθῆναι πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν καὶ ἰδικῶς τὴν τῶν Εὐνομιανῶν εἴτουν Ἀνομοίων· καὶ τὴν τῶν

"and that of the Arians, or Eudoxians, and that of the "Semiarians, or Pneumatomachi, and that of the Sabel- "lians, Marcellians, and that of the Photinians, and that "of the Apollinarists." It is true that in the collection of canons the seventh and last of the fullest list ends thus: "And in this way we catechize them" (that is, those who are to be received into the Church from among the heretical sects) "and make them spend much time in the "Church, and listen to the Scriptures, and then we bap- "tize them[1]." Then without preface or heading comes the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Symbol. This Canon VII., however, never appears in the paraphrase from the Arabic, which comes immediately afterwards in Mansi's collection, nor is it among the canons assigned to this council by Johannes Scholasticus (*obiit* 578 A.D.), nor in the epitome thereof by Symeon Magister, who both give only six canons, but it is found as the XCVth Canon of the Trullan Council (held at Constantinople) A.D. 692.

The question therefore arises: Did the Fathers of the Constantinopolitan Council, who are reported by such historians as lived nearest to their times to have been zealous upholders of the Nicene Creed, put forth any Creed of their own at all? The historians mention none, and the canon which contains it seems not to have been known to those who translated the proceedings into Arabic. Another question arises: Did they put forth this

Ἀρειανῶν εἴτουν Εὐδοξιανῶν· καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἡμιαρειανῶν ἤγουν Πνευματομάχων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σαβελλιανῶν, Μαρκελλιανῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν Φωτεινιανῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀπολλιναριστῶν.

[1] Mansi, III. 364, καὶ οὕτως κατηχοῦμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς χρονίζειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν γραφῶν καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζομεν. After which the creed follows at once without number or heading, quite differently from the usual mode of its introduction in reports of Councils.

enlarged Creed (if we answer the former query in the affirmative) supposing it to be, what apparently Epiphanius supposed it, the unaltered Nicene Creed? There are some points in the history of the Councils of the Church during the seventy years which followed the Constantinopolitan Synod which seem to point to a negative answer to the first question above propounded. For in all the documents which have been collected for the illustration of Church History during that period, from the Council of Constantinople to that of Chalcedon, not one trace can be found of mention or allusion to any Creed of the second Council. We will briefly notice the Creeds, or allusions thereto, which are to be found during that time.

In the African code[1], the canons of which are of the date A. D. 391, the Creed of Nicæa is given, and is mentioned in Canon I. as that "which our fathers brought "with them from the Synod at Nicæa." The same Creed is also repeated in Canon CXXXVII.

A letter of Pope Innocent I.[2] (A. D. 402—417), addressed to the clergy and people of Constantinople, in commenting in one of its articles on the canons which are to be received or rejected, speaks only of the Creed of the Nicene Synod, and approves of the adhesion thereto maintained by the Council of Sardica.

In two Councils, one held at Carthage, A. D. 419, and the other merely cited as the African Council, A. D. 423, there is nothing spoken of or recorded except the simple unextended Nicene Creed.

In the year A. D. 431 was held the third general Council at Ephesus, wherein the opinions of Nestorius[3]

[1] Mansi, III. 708. [2] Mansi, III. 1098.

[3] Nestorius, whose error was of a Judaizing character, refused the title of *θεοτόκος* to the Blessed Virgin.

the bishop of Constantinople were condemned, and which was presided over by Cyril archbishop of Alexandria. Previous to the assembling of the Synod an epistle[1] was addressed by Cyril to Nestorius, in which, during the discussion of the errors of the latter, he has occasion to quote a Creed, and all that he gives is the simple form of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers. In the first session after the meeting of the Council when the Symbol is read it is the same, and in the remarks which follow immediately afterwards that Creed alone is spoken of or alluded to. The words of the letter addressed by the fathers to Theodosius and Valentinian in reference to the deposition of Nestorius are so marked that they seem worthy of quotation.

Nestorius had refused to be present, and a rival assembly was constituted under the presidency of John bishop of Antioch, and the proceedings of the Council proper at first threatened to have no effective issue. "Since, however," say they[2], "it was not right that such "a holy Synod should come together and continue in- "operative, as he (i. e. Nestorius) refuses to come forward "to answer the evil of which he was conscious, we of "necessity mooted the dogmas about faith and religion... "after which we set forth the exposition of religious "faith formerly transmitted to us by the holy Apostles, "and afterwards set forth by the three hundred and "eighteen holy Fathers who were gathered by Constan-

[1] Mansi, IV. 1071.

[2] Mansi, IV. 1237, *ἐπειδὴ οὖν οὐκ ἔδει τὴν τοσαύτην ἁγίαν σύνοδον συνελθουσαν ἄπρακτον μένειν* [as was likely to be the case since Nestorius refused to be present] *ἐκείνου κακῷ συνειδότι μὴ ἀπαντήσαντος τὰ περὶ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς Εὐσεβείας ἀναγκαίως ἐκίνουμεν δόγματα.....μεθ' ὃ τὴν ἔκθεσιν τῆς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως προθέντες, τῆς πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἀποστόλων παραδεδομένης ἡμῖν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκτεθείσης παρὰ τῶν τριακοσίων δεκα-*

"tine of blessed memory in the metropolis of Nicæa." They proceed to state that they had compared with this Nicene Creed Cyril's exposition and also the writings of Nestorius, and after such comparison had pronounced the deposition of the bishop of Constantinople. Mr Ffoulkes suggests[1] that it may have been because the orthodoxy of Nestorius was called in question at this Council that the Creed of Constantinople was so entirely ignored in the proceedings, but we have seen that it was omitted from notice in other Synods to which no such explanation will apply, and we shall find, in the further proceedings of this very assembly, where subjects were treated of entirely distinct from the case of Nestorius, that the same disregard is shewn to the enlarged Symbol of Constantinople.

For in the sixth session there occurred a very interesting discussion relative to Creeds. Charisius, a presbyter of the Church of Philadelphia, mentioned the case of some Lydian converts from heresy who had been taught by those who had received them into the Church an erroneous Creed, instead of the Symbol of Nice, and had subscribed to some errors on the doctrine of the Incarnation. In his statement Charisius gives[2] his own Creed which runs thus: "I believe in one God the "Father Almighty, Creator and Maker of all things "visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, his "only begotten Son, God of God, Light of Light, very "God of very God, of one substance with the Father,

οκτὼ ἁγίων πατέρων ἐν τῇ Νικαέων μητροπόλει συνηγμένων παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κωνσταντίνου.....

[1] *Historical Account of the Addition of the words "Filioque" to the Nicene Creed*, p. 7.

[2] Mansi, iv. 1348, πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα κτιστὴν ἁπάντων, ὁράτων τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιήτην καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ

"who for us and for our salvation came down from heaven, "was incarnate, born of the Virgin Mary, made man, "was crucified for us, died, rose again the third day, "ascended into heaven, and is coming again to judge the "quick and the dead. And in the Spirit of Truth, the "Paraclete, of the same substance with the Father and "the Son, and in the Holy Catholic Church, in the resur-"rection of the dead, in the life everlasting." This Creed has several points of interest. First, though coming from an Oriental, it is couched in the singular number, contrary to the custom in such cases. This, however, may perhaps be accounted for by the personal character of the confession[1]. Again, Charisius was evidently an earnest adherent to the Nicene Symbol, and yet his Creed contains many deviations from its language, and some additions, which mark the direction which erroneous opinion had taken on the nature of the third Person of the Trinity, but yet are very different from the expressions contained in the Symbol ascribed to the Fathers of Constantinople.

Charisius then sets forth the depraved form to which these converts had been induced to subscribe, and concludes with a list of their signatures. This information naturally led to some discussion, which it would be foreign to our present purpose to dwell upon, but the end thereof was a decree[2] of the Council, that henceforth none

Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατέλθοντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, σαρκωθέντα, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα σταυρωθέντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἀποθανόντα ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ παράκλητον ὁμοούσιον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ εἰς ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

[1] As seen in the Creed of Eutyches, given at the Council of Chalcedon, *infra* p. 78.

[2] Mansi, iv. 1361.

should put forth, write, or compose a Creed other than the Nicene Symbol[1]. In the further account of the proceedings of the Synod there occurs[2] the report which they made to the emperor of what they had done. Here again they give the simple Nicene Creed and no other. Moreover, there is appended to the proceedings a treatise written by the presiding archbishop Cyril to Anastasius and others, and added as illustrative of the nature of the acts of the Council. Therein, just as before, he recites the shorter form of the Creed, and when at the end of the treatise he proceeds to speak of the Holy Ghost, his words are[3]: "And "when the thrice blessed fathers have finished their account "of Christ they make mention of the Holy Ghost. For "they said they believed therein, exactly as in the Father "and in the Son, for the Holy Ghost is of the same "substance with them, and is shed forth, that is, comes "forth, as from a fountain, from God the Father, but is "supplied to the creature through the Son. For He "breathed on His holy Apostles, saying, 'Receive ye "'the Holy Ghost.' The Holy Ghost is therefore from "God, and is God, and is not separate from the highest "substance of all, but is from it, and in it, and peculiar

[1] The words are παρὰ τὴν ὁρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νικάεων συνελθόντων σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, which seem to admit of no meaning but that given above, and to exclude the later Creed altogether.

[2] Mansi, IV. 1376.

[3] Mansi, V. 388, διαπερασάντες δὲ τὸν περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον οἱ τρισμακάριοι πατέρες τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διαμνημονεύουσι· πιστεύειν γὰρ ἔφασαν εἰς αὐτὸ, καθάπερ ἀμέλει εἰς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, ὁμοούσιον γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ προχεῖται μὲν, ἤγουν ἐκπορεύεται καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, χορηγεῖται δὲ τῇ κτίσει διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. ἐνέφυσε γοῦν τοῖς ἁγίοις Ἀποστόλοις λέγων, λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. οὐκοῦν ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐστιν καὶ οὐκ ἀλλότριον τῆς ἀνωτάτω πασῶν οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῆς. Αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡ εὐθυτείνης καὶ ἀπλανεστάτη πίστις ἤτοι τῆς πίστεως ἡ ὁμολογία.

"to it. This then is the correct and unvarying faith or "confession of faith of the holy fathers." And thus he concludes his comment on the Creed. It seems therefore that the Creed of this Council must only have been the brief form of the Nicene fathers, otherwise we can hardly understand how the archbishop, who presided over its deliberations and who wrote this comment, should have concluded his exposition at this point.

We may add to this, that in all the versions of the Council's proceedings, no translation appears of anything but the Nicene Creed, to which are appended the anathemas, which are usually considered to have been removed by the Ephesian Council. Nor is any other form of Creed quoted or alluded to in the succeeding twenty years, after which time we find the enlarged Creed put forward in the proceedings of the fourth general Council at Chalcedon A. D. 451, but then, as we shall see, it was not accepted without a murmur, and its reception was very different in heartiness from that which was accorded to the earlier profession[1].

The fourth general Council was assembled to resist the errors of Eutyches the archimandrite of Constantinople. In his zeal to oppose Nestorianism this man had fallen into the opposite error, and asserted that Christ was distinct from the Word, and that our Lord had no fleshly body like to ours, nor was really born of the Virgin Mary. In the outset of the conference it was deemed proper to read the account of the proceedings of the previous Council at Ephesus, and it is remarkable, that in the documents read[2] mention is only made of the Nicene Council and the Ephesian, no reference being

[1] On the supposed confusion between the names "Nicene" and "Constantinopolitan" as applied to this creed, see Appendix to Chapter II.

[2] Mansi, VI. 612.

made to that of Constantinople. In the discussion concerning Eutychianism, Eutyches himself first set forth his faith, in the words of the original Nicene Symbol, though it is here simply called "the exposition of the faith of Eutyches," and is expressed in the singular number. He also adds the anathema in the same words as the Nicene fathers, and then proceeds to say that he received this faith from his ancestors, and was baptized in it, and in it he wishes to die. Moreover, he says that this was the faith which had been confirmed by the Council over which Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria, had presided (meaning the Council of Ephesus), and that he himself had a copy of Cyril's Creed.

At this point the statement of Eutyches was interrupted by Eusebius bishop of Dorylæum, who said, "He has spoken "falsely. The definition is not of that nature. The "canon does not say so[1]." And the protest of Eusebius is backed by the assertion of Diogenes bishop of Cyzicus, who exclaimed[2], "He has treacherously repre-"sented the Synod of the holy fathers at Nicæa, for "the Creed received additions from the holy fathers "on account of the evil designs of Apollinarius and "Valentinus and Macedonius, and those like them. And "there has been added to the Symbol of the holy Fathers "the words 'He came down and was incarnate by the "'Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary.' For this expression "Eutyches has left out as being a follower of Apollinarius. "For even Apollinarius accepts the holy Synod of Nice,

[1] ἐψεύσατο, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅρος τοιοῦτος· οὐκ ἔστι κανὼν τοῦτο διαγορεύων.

[2] δολερῶς προσέταξε τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων συνόδον· ἐδέξατο δὲ προσθήκας παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων διὰ τὴν ἔννοιαν τὴν κακὴν Ἀπολιναρίου καὶ Βαλεντίνου καὶ Μακεδονίου, καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐκείνοις· καὶ προσέθειται τῷ συμβόλῳ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων 'τὸν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,' τοῦτο γὰρ παρέλιπεν Εὐτύχης ὡς Ἀπολιναριστής. καὶ Ἀπολινάριος γὰρ δέχεται τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἁγίαν συνόδεν κατὰ τὴν

"though eliminating, through his natural lawlessness, "the expression alluded to, and he avoids the words 'Of "'the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,' lest he should "altogether acknowledge the Unity with the Flesh. For the "expression which the holy fathers at Nicæa used 'He was "incarnate,' the holy fathers who succeeded them explained "by adding 'Of the Holy Ghost and Mary the Virgin.'"

This is a very fair representation of the difference, so far as it relates to the question at issue in the case of Eutyches, between the original Nicene and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creeds; but it was not accepted by a considerable section of the assembly. For the Egyptian party at once cried out against any addition to the Symbol of the first Council, adding that Eutyches had recited the Nicene Creed correctly. At the close of this first session the following is the order of the president[1]: "Let each "one of the most pious bishops of this present holy Synod "speedily set forth in writing his faith without any dread, "setting the fear of God before his eyes; knowing that "our most divine and pious Master believes in accordance "with the exposition of the three hundred and eighteen "holy fathers of Nicæa, and in accordance with the "exposition of the hundred and fifty who succeeded them, "and in accordance with the canonical Epistles, and "the expositions of the holy fathers, Gregory, Basil,

οἰκείαν παρανομίαν ἐκλαμβάνων τὸ ῥητόν, καὶ φεύγει τὸ 'ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου' ἵνα πανταχοῦ μὴ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς ὁμολογήσῃ. οἱ γὰρ ἅγιοι πατέρες οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἐσαρκώθη· ὃ εἶπον οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρες ἐσαφήνισαν εἰπόντες, ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου.

[1] Mansi, VI. 937, ἕκαστος τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων τῆς παρούσης ἁγίας συνόδου ὅπως πιστεύει ἐγγραφῶς ἄνευ τινὸς δέους, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέμενος φόβον ἐκθέσθαι σπουδασάτω, γιγνώσκων ὡς ὁ θειότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης κατὰ τὴν ἔκθεσιν τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἁγίων πατέρων τιη', καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔκθεσιν τῶν ρν', τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰς κανονικὰς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ ἐκθέσεις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων Γρηγορίου, Βασιλείου, Ἀθανασίου, Ἱλαρίου,

"Athanasius, Hilary, Ambrose, and the two canonical "Epistles, ratified and published in the first Synod of "Ephesus, in no wise departing from their faith." And this is the very first instance of the introduction of the hundred and fifty Fathers as authorities on the point.

At the commencement of the second session, Eunomius bishop of Nicomedia first recites[1] the Nicene Symbol, here called ἔκθεσις or "exposition." At its conclusion all the bishops exclaimed, "This is the faith of the orthodox, "in this we all believe, in this we were baptized, in this "we baptize. Thus taught the blessed Cyril. This is "the true faith. This is the holy faith, this the eternal "faith. Into this we were baptized, into this we all "baptize. We all thus believe. Pope Leo so believes. "Cyril so believed."

After this, a request was made that the exposition of the hundred and fifty Fathers might be read to them. Hereupon Aëtius, archdeacon of Constantinople, read it, with the addition of this heading: "The holy faith which "the hundred and fifty holy Fathers set forth in harmony "with the holy and great Synod at Nicæa[2]." At the termination of the reading all the most pious bishops exclaimed, "This is the faith of all, this is the faith of the "orthodox, so we all believe[3]." But it is received with

'Αμβροσίου, καὶ τὰς Κυρίλλου δύο κανονικὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἔφεσον πρώτῃ συνόδῳ βεβαιωθείσας, καὶ δημοστευθείσας πιστεύει, κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον τῆς αὐτῶν πίστεως ἀναχωρῶν.

[1] Mansi, VI. 956, αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν ὀρθοδόξων· ταύτῃ πάντες πιστεύομεν, ἐν ταύτῃ ἐβαπτίσθημεν, ἐν ταύτῃ βαπτίζομεν. ὁ μακάριος Κύριλλος οὕτως ἐδίδαξεν. αὕτη ἡ ἀληθινὴ πίστις· αὕτη ἡ ἁγία πίστις· αὕτη αἰωνία πίστις· εἰς ταύτην ἐβαπτίσθημεν· εἰς ταύτην βαπτίζομεν· πάντες οὕτως πιστεύομεν· ὁ πάπας Λέων οὕτως πιστεύει· Κύριλλος οὕτως ἐπίστευσεν.

[2] *Ibid.* ἡ ἁγία πίστις ἣν ἐξέθεντο οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες ρν' συμφωνοῦσα τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ.

[3] *Ibid.* πάντες οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐπεβόησαν, αὕτη πίστις τῶν ὀρθοδόξων, οὕτως πάντες πιστεύομεν.

nothing of the enthusiasm which greeted the older Symbol, and no mention whatever is made of its use as a baptismal Creed, in the same way as had been done at the reading of the Nicene Creed. In the fourth[1] session of the Council, allusion is made to both the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds, and in the assenting clauses appended to the signatures of the bishops, the hundred and fifty are as regularly mentioned as authorities here in almost every case, as they are persistently omitted in the signatures of the Council of Ephesus.

In the fifth session[2] the Nicene symbol is given, but in their proper places are added to it the four clauses, "Of "the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary;" "He sitteth at "the right hand of the Father;" "Whose kingdom shall "have no end;" and to the sentence about the Holy Ghost the words "Lord and Giver of life." Afterwards and again by Aëtius is read the full Constantinopolitan Creed, and the definition of the council prescribing its acceptance. Yet singularly enough in the allocution of Marcianus the Emperor in the sixth session, the only allusion made is to the Nicene fathers and their Creed.

It appears then that in the Council of Chalcedon while a large number of the bishops attached the chief importance to the Nicene symbol, there was present a number of ecclesiastics, the most prominent among whom was Aëtius, archdeacon of Constantinople, whose aim it was to obtain for the see of Constantinople as much acknowledgment as they could, and these were the persons who were most prominent in setting forth the Constantinopolitan symbol, which the rest were not so ready to receive. An instance occurred in the fifteenth session of the Council

[1] Mansi, VII. 9—10.

[2] Mansi, VII. 109.

which illustrates this desire to magnify Constantinople at the expense of the other patriarchates. In this session the Canons of Chalcedon were set forth, and were twenty-seven in number[1]. But it seems that after the Western representatives had departed, Anatolius bishop of Constantinople procured the addition of two more to the original number of the canons, thus making them to be twenty-nine. One of these is designed to put Constantinople on a level with Rome and above Alexandria and Antioch. A somewhat stormy debate about these additional canons took place in the sixteenth session, wherein Aëtius was, as usual, prominent, and as the two interpolated canons do not appear in any of the versions of the Canons now extant, they would seem not to have been allowed to stand in the authorized acts of the Council. It is however in the first of these that the authority of the hundred and fifty fathers[2] is put forward to the exclusion of those of the earlier Nicene Synod. A fact which it

[1] After Canon XXVII. of the Council of Chalcedon, the editors (Mansi, VII. 369) have the following note: Canones qui sequuntur non extant in codicibus Græcis manuscriptis quos habuimus hujus concilii, nec etiam in Latinis, neque in collectionibus Dionysii et Isidori. Cujus rei causa ea esse videtur quia Anatolii Constantinopolitani episcopi circumventione ac fraude, cum sedis Apostolicæ legati e Synodo egressi essent, patribus concilii propositi atque ab eis subscripti fuerant. Ex quorum primo qui est XXVIII. duorum patriarcharum Alexandrini et Antiocheni privilegia a concilio Nicæno eis data infringebantur, et primatus ejus [i.e. *Constantinopolitani*] in ecclesia post Romanum pontificem statuebatur. Quod beatus Leo, indigne ferens, eosdem rejecit et infirmavit ut apparet ex ipsius epistola LXI. ad Episcopos Synodi Chalcedonensis et epistola LXII. ad Maximum Antiochenum et aliis.

[2] To shew its purport, the first of the interpolated canons is subjoined. Canon XXVIII. (Mansi, VII. 369): *τανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὅροις ἑπόμενοι καὶ τὸν ἀρτίως ἀναγνωσθέντα κανόνα τῶν ρν'. θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων γνωρίζοντες, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρίζομεν καὶ ψηφιζόμεθα περὶ τῶν πρεσβείων τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως νέας*

seems right to record as it demonstrates what was the *animus* of those who made this interpolation.

Enough has here been adduced to shew that before the date of the fourth General Council the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed was far from attaining general acceptance. Its existence before A.D. 381 is certain from Epiphanius, and it may have been put forward as a profession of faith at the second Council, and received by the Churches in the patriarchate of Constantinople, but at first may not have been more extensively circulated. This seems the more probable because all the persons who were concerned in propounding it at Chalcedon were either from Constantinople itself or from Churches in immediate connection therewith, and everything contained in this last and somewhat unauthentic canon relates to the privileges of the Holy Church of Constantinople.

In the records of Synods immediately succeeding the Council of Chalcedon we look in vain for any notice of the Constantinopolitan Creed, and indeed the age of Creeds appears to have come nearly to an end, but at Carthage in

Ρώμης. καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀπεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ ρν'. θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εἰλόγως κρίναντες τὴν βασιλείᾳ καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ὡς ἐκείνην, μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν· καὶ ὥστε τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς καὶ τῆς Θρακικῆς διοικήσεως μητροπολίτας μόνους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων χειροτονεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἁγιωτάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας· δηλαδὴ ἑκάστου μητροπολίτου τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων μετὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖτοι, τοῖς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόποις καθὼς τοῖς θείοις κανόσι διηγόρευται· χειροτονεῖσθαι δέ, καθὼς εἴρηται, τοὺς μητροπολίτας τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων παρὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ψηφισμάτων συμφώνων, κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον, γεναμένων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων.

a Synod held A.D. 525, under Boniface, bishop of that Church, the simple Nicene Creed was alone read, and the bishop's words in reference to it are "Let the "Creed recited at the Nicene Council be entered among "the acts[1]."

Eleven years after this in a Council held at Constantinople itself we have many[2] allusions to the Constantinopolitan Creed, and similarly in the Council of Jerusalem in the same year, A.D. 536, where mention is made of[3] it in the sentence pronounced by Peter, bishop of Jerusalem, against Anthimus. It is also noticed in the xvth Epistle of Pope Vigilius[4] about A.D. 540, and from that time the Creed in the form known as the Constantinopolitan may be considered to have obtained general acceptance.

In A.D. 553 at the Council of Constantinople, known as the fifth General Council, both the shorter Nicene Creed and the later expansion of it are quoted in full and allusion made to the proceedings of all the four previous General Councils[5].

To the Creed as thus received the Eastern Church has made but one addition, and that probably was at first introduced through the confused memory of some scribe and afterwards perpetuated since it formed no contradiction to any portion of the Creed. In the Nicene Creed a part of the second Article ran thus, "God of God, Light of Light, "very God of very God." In the expanded Creed of Constantinople the first of these three clauses was omitted, no doubt as being contained in the third, but in process of time[6], though we cannot point to the exact date, the old

[1] Mansi, VIII. Fides Nicæno concilio lecta actis indatur.
[2] Mansi, VIII. col. 963. 1051. 1063. 1066. 1088. 1151.
[3] Mansi, VIII. 1170.
[4] Mansi, IX. 53.
[5] Mansi, IX. 178. 338. 339.
[6] See Appendix to this Chapter.

words of the earlier Symbol were introduced into the later form and adopted in their fulness.

But an addition has been made in the Latin versions of the Creed as used by the Churches of the West which has proved of a much more serious character. This is the clause so well known as the "Filioque" or "et Filio." It is to the year A.D. 589 and to the third Council of Toledo that the addition can first be traced. This Council had been summoned by Reccared, king of the Goths, and its purpose was to give emphasis to the national renunciation of Arianism. The assembled bishops are first[1] addressed by the king, who dwells on his own conversion and his desire by this council to do something for the glory of God. And what can he do but make an earnest endeavour to set forth the true faith? He therefore proceeds, as though for the direction of his hearers, to recite a sort of confession in which occurs the following sentence: "In "equal degree must the Holy Ghost be confessed by us, "and we must preach that He proceeds from the Father "and the Son, and is of one substance with the Father "and the Son: moreover that the Person of the Holy Ghost "is the third in the Trinity, but that He still has a commu-"nity of the Divine Essence with the Father and the "Son[2]." Dwelling after this for some time on the fame of the Gothic nation, he laments that through bad teachers they had continued so long in error, though now they are received into the communion of the Church which embraces a multitude of various nations in her motherly bosom. It will be their unfading crown if they abide in this true faith.

[1] Mansi, IX. 977 seqq.
[2] Spiritus æque sanctus confitendus est a nobis et prædicandus est a Patre et Filio procedere et cum Patre et Filio unius esse substantiæ, tertiam vero in Trinitate Spiritus Sancti esse personam, qui tamen communem habeat cum Patre et Filio divinitatis essentiam.

After anathematizing Arius, he declares his adherence to the doctrines set forth by all the four Councils, and quotes as embodiments of these doctrines a Latin version of the Nicene Creed with the anathemas, and after that of the Creed of Constantinople, but with the words "et Filio" added for the first time, as far as we know, to the Article on the Procession of the Holy Ghost. There is next appended to the proceedings of the Council a Tractate on the Council of Chalcedon, and the whole is subscribed first of all by the king and his queen and then by the bishops. It seems hardly probable that the members of this Synod can have known of the interpolation thus made in the Creed, or that their insertion of these words was made with intent to add anything to the earlier setting forth of the Faith, for there is no record of a dissentient voice, nor notice of discussion of the slightest kind.

The Creed thus set forth was received with the greatest joy by the whole assembly. The only sentence which gives an idea that they might have known how serious an act they had performed, is one which occurs in the third of the twenty-three anathemas against Arianism and other heresies, which are subjoined to the Acts of the Council. This says "Whoever[1] does not or shall not believe that "the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, "and shall deny that He is coeternal and coequal with the "Father and the Son, let him be accursed." But though this anathema is so pointedly aimed at the impugners of the new form of the Article in their Creed, it hardly warrants us in concluding that an addition, the consequences of which have been so grave, was for the first time made

[1] Mansi, IX. Quicumque Spiritum Sanctum non credit, aut non crediderit a Patre et Filio procedere, eumque non dixerit coæternum esse Patri et Filio et coæqualem, anathema sit.

at this Council without debate or remonstrance, though this is the first record of the addition.

This form of the Article, however, when once set forth speedily gained reception in other countries besides Spain. Of this we have evidence about a hundred years later in the proceedings of an English Synod held at Heathfield A.D. 680. According to Bede, the Synod was convened by Archbishop Theodore to guard against the spread of Eutychianism. It was numerously attended, and the assembled Fathers, after appealing to Scripture as the ground of their Faith, express their adherence to all the decrees of the first five General Councils, and of the Roman Synod held under Pope Martin. After this the account of their profession runs thus, "We acknowledge "and glorify our Lord Jesus Christ as they [*i.e.* the "Fathers of the above-named Councils] glorified Him, "neither adding or diminishing anything, and we anathe- "matize with heart and voice those whom they anathema- "tized, and whom they acknowledged we acknowledge, "glorifying God the Father without beginning, and His "only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before all ages, "and *the Holy Ghost proceeding in an inexpressible man- "ner from the Father and the Son,* as those holy Apostles "and Prophets and Doctors taught whom we have above "mentioned[1]."

Here likewise there appears to be no indication of a knowledge that the profession was made in language

[1] Bedæ, *H. E.* IV. 17. Suscipimus et glorificamus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum sicut isti glorificaverunt, nihil addentes vel subtrahentes, et anathematizamus corde et ore quos anathematizaverunt, et quos susceperunt suscipimus, glorificantes Deum Patrem sine initio, et Filium ejus unigenitum ex Patre genèratum ante sæcula, et *Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter*, sicut prædicaverunt hi quos memoravimus supra, sancti Apostoli, et Prophetæ et Doctores.

which in this important article differed from that of the Fathers alluded to as authorities. Not even does the archbishop, whose acquaintance with the East might have led us to expect some comment on this doctrine of the "Procession," seem to have considered the words other than the true language of the early councils.

But before the end of another century the addition of the "Filioque" began to produce its effect in a rupture between the Greeks and the Latins. This is said to have commenced at the Council of Gentilly, A.D. 767. There we read "the question was ventilated between the Greeks "and Romans about the Trinity, and whether the Holy "Spirit so proceeds from the Son as he proceeds from "the Father[1]." It appears that the discussion originated thus. There were present at the council ambassadors from Constantine Copronymus, and besides the questions mentioned in the above extract there arose a discussion on the worship of images. In this matter the Westerns charged Constantine with neglect, whereupon his representatives retorted with a reproach about the insertion of the "Filioque." Pepin, king of France, who was present at this council, died the next year, and was succeeded by his famous son Charles, known afterwards as Charlemagne, beside whose zeal in matters theological that of his father sinks into insignificance. An opportunity for displaying that zeal soon arose in connection with this subject of the double Procession.

His fervour was evoked under the following circumstances. In a letter addressed by Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, to the bishops and clergy of Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, there is given a Creed which

[1] Mansi, XII. 677, quoting from Ado of Vienne, "Facta est synodus .....et quaestio ventilata inter Græcos et Romanos de Trinitate, et utrum Spiritus Sanctus, sicut procedit a Patre, ita procedit a Filio,"

commences thus: "I believe in one God the Father Al- "mighty and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God "and our God, who was begotten of the Father before "time and from eternity: and in the Holy Ghost the Lord "and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father by "the Son, and Himself both is and is acknowledged as "God[1]."..... After the second Nicene Council A.D. 787 it appeared that this confession had met with acceptance from Pope Hadrian, and on this point Charlemagne addressed a remonstrance[2] to the Pope on the admission of such erroneous doctrine as that of Tarasius, "who pro- "fesses that the Holy Ghost proceeds not from the Father "and the Son, according to the faith of the Nicene Symbol, "but from the Father by the Son[3]." To this the Pope replied that Tarasius had not set forth this dogma of himself, but on the teaching of the holy Fathers, and proceeds to quote evidence from the writings of Athanasius, Eusebius, Hilary, and several other writers in support of the position of the accused patriarch. The passages are not all of them to the point, but what is most remarkable is that, although Charlemagne's letter expressly mentions the Nicene Creed as his authority for the doctrine he is advocating, the Pope does not set him right by shew-

[1] Migne, XII. 1122, *πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀϊδίως, καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ Κύριον καὶ ζωοποιοῦν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ αὐτὸ Θεὸν· ὄν τε καὶ γνωριζόμενον, κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Mr Neale, in his *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. II. p. 1154, represents the complaint as coming from Pepin after the appearance of the Acts of the VIIth Council, as the second Council of Nice is called. This is a mistake. Pepin died A.D. 768, the Nicene Council was A.D. 787.

[3] Mansi, XIII. 760, *Charlemagne's letter sent to the Pope by Engelbert*, "qui Spiritum Sanctum non ex Patre et Filio, secundum Nicæni symboli fidem, sed ex Patre per Filium procedentem.....profiteatur."

ing that in that early Symbol there is mentioned only the Procession from the Father. Was the papal see so much in fear of the great king that its occupant dared not utter such an argument?

That the true reading of the Nicene Creed was not unknown to those who were in close connection with Charlemagne is evident from the next step in the history of this controversy. The Council of Friuli was assembled by Paulinus of Aquileia A.D. 791 "in the cause of the Holy "Trinity and the Incarnation of the Divine Word." The Symbol here set forth was the Niceno-Constantinopolitan (of course in a Latin translation) with the addition of the "Filioque[1]," which addition is defended in an epistle addressed by the bishop to the king, giving an accurate history of all that had taken place in the alteration of this much discussed article. A portion of his letter runs thus[2]: "For if the venerable compilation of the Nicene Symbol be "examined, nothing else will be to be found set forth "therein concerning the Holy Ghost save this. They say, "'and in the Holy Ghost.' What is it then to say 'and in "'the Holy Ghost'? How is this so very brief profession of "theirs to be received except that there is given us to "understand the religious devotion of the pure faith of "their minds, and that they believed as is most likely in "the Holy Ghost, just as in the Father and in the Son; "as afterwards was done by the hundred and fifty holy "fathers who testified that the faith of the Symbol of the

[1] Mansi, XIII. 842.

[2] Mansi, XIII. 836, Nam si recenseatur Nicæni symboli series veneranda, nihil aliud de Spiritu Sancto in ea nisi hoc modo reperiri potest promulgatum "Et in Sanctum," inquiunt, "Spiritum." Quid est ergo dicere "Et in Spiritum Sanctum"? Quo modo accipienda est tam brevissima eorum professio, nisi ut patenter detur intelligi mentium eorum integræ fidei religiosa devotio et in Sanctum Spiritum sicut et in Patrem et in Filium probabiliter credidisse, quemadmodum postea a sanctis patribus centum quinquaginta qui contestati sunt Symboli

"Nicene Council should remain for ever inviolate. Yet as "if for expounding the meaning of their predecessors they "made additions, and confess that they believe 'in the Holy "'Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from "'the Father and who with the Father and the Son is to "'be worshipped and glorified.' For these words and the "rest which follow are not contained in the sacred dogma "of the Nicene Symbol. But afterwards too, on account "forsooth of those heretics who whisper that the Holy "Ghost is of the Father alone, and proceeds from the "Father alone, there was added 'who proceedeth from the "'Father and the Son.' And yet those holy Fathers are "not to be blamed, as if they had added anything to, or "taken anything away from the Faith of the three hun"dred and eighteen fathers, who had no thought on divine "subjects contrary to their meaning, but in an honest "manner studied to complete their sense without spoiling "it. So the hundred and fifty who inserted 'proceeding "'from the Father,' had learnt on the testimony of the "Evangelist, that the Only-begotten Himself had pro"mised to his disciples concerning His Spirit, 'The Spirit "'who proceedeth from the Father He shall testify clearly

fidem Nicæni Concilii inviolatam perenniter permanere? Suppleverunt tamen quasi exponendo eorum sensum, et "in Spiritum Sanctum" confitentur se credere "Dominum et vivificatorem ex Patre procedentem, "cum Patre et Filio adorandum et glorificandum." Hæc enim et cætera quæ sequuntur in Nicæni Symboli sacro dogmate non habentur. Sed et postmodum propter eos videlicet hæreticos qui susurrant Spiritum Sanctum solius esse Patris et a solo procedere Patre additum est "Qui ex Patre et Filio procedit." Et tamen non sunt hic Sancti Patres culpandi, quasi addidissent aliquid vel minuissent de fide trecentorum decem et octo Patrum, qui non contra eorum sensum diversa senserunt, sed immaculatum eorum intellectum sanis moribus supplere studuerunt. Dicerant ita centum quinquaginta qui intulerunt "a Patre procedentem" Evangelista testante repromisisse discipulis ipsum Unigenitum de suo Spiritu, "Spiritus qui a Patre procedit ipse me clarificabit." Legerant

"'of me.' Of course those who succeeded them and added "'Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son' had "read the gospel of the very same Truth refuting Philip. "'Philip,' says He, 'he who sees Me sees My Father also. "'Dost thou not believe that I am in My Father and the "'Father in Me?' If therefore, as He Himself testifies, the "Father is inseparably and substantially in the Son, and "the Son in the Father, how can it be believed that the "Holy Ghost who is consubstantial with the Father and "the Son does not always proceed essentially and insepara-"bly from the Father and the Son?"

It is hard to believe that changes which the most influential and learned of his clergy could state with such clearness could have been unknown to the king on the occasion of his remonstrance with Pope Hadrian, and we are almost driven to the supposition that the "Filioque" clause was put forward and supported for the purpose of producing a breach between the Churches of the East and West.

Three years elapse, and we come to the great Synod of Frankfort, A. D. 794. The purpose for which it was assembled was to condemn the adoptionist heresy, and its chief supporters, Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo, and Felix, bishop of Urgella, which controversy agitated the Church even more at this time than that of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Here, with Charlemagne

nempe ii sequentes qui addiderunt "Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit" ipsam eandemque Veritatem in Evangelio redarguentem Philippum. "Philippe," inquit, "qui videt me, videt et Patrem meum. An non "credis quia ego in Patre et Pater in me est?" Si ergo, sicut ipse testatur, inseparabiliter et substantialiter est Pater in Filio et Filius in Patre, quo pacto credi potest et consubstantialis Patri Filioque Spiritus Sanctus non a Patre Filioque essentialiter et inseparabiliter semper procedat?

present, and the pope represented by his legates the bishops Theophylact and Stephanus, there is read the *libellus* of the Italian bishops against Elipandus. This appears to have been the work of Paulinus[1], and therein the double Procession is emphatically stated. "The Holy "Catholic and Apostolic Church confesses that we should "believe one person of the Father, because the Father is "He who begat the Son coeternal with Himself with-"out time and without all beginning, and another person "of the Son, because the Son is He who was begotten "without beginning by the Father, not putatively but "truly, and another person of the Holy Ghost, for the "Holy Ghost is, and *proceeds from the Father and from "the Son.*" This is followed by the Synodical letter of the Churches of Gaul and Germany to the presidents of the Spanish Churches, stating the decision of the Synod on the point in dispute, after which is given the letter of Charlemagne to Elipandus and the other Spanish bishops. In this Epistle, having stated that he has sent to Rome and to Britain to summon ecclesiastics to consult on this question, he inclosed three libelli, first, the opinion of the Roman See; second, of the bishops of the nearer parts of Italy, headed by Peter of Milan and Paulinus of Aquileia; and third, that of the bishops of Germany, Gaul, Aquitania and Britain. To these he appends his own agreement, giving in it a form of Creed, where-in in the article on the third Person of the Trinity he states "We believe also in the Holy Ghost, the true

[1] Mansi, XIII. 878, Sancta autem catholica atque apostolica Ecclesia .....confitetur ita sane ut alius credatur Pater, quia Pater est qui genuit coæternum sibi sine tempore et omni initio Filium, et alius credatur Filius, quia Filius est qui genitus est sine initio a Patre non putative sed vere, et alius credatur Spiritus Sanctus, quia Spiritus Sanctus est et a Patre Filioque procedit.

"God, the Giver of Life to all, *proceeding from the Father "and the Son*[1]." This doctrine of the double Procession is twice again repeated, and, as we shall have occasion to observe afterwards, the whole document bears a strong resemblance in certain parts to the Athanasian Creed. Its occurrence in a document of this nature, issuing from a Council where Germany, Gaul, Britain and Italy had been represented, and addressed to the Churches of Spain proves that the doctrine of the "Filioque" clause in the Creed was accepted without question in the Churches of the West. It most likely came to be so through the influence of Charlemagne, on whom, a few years after, Pope Leo III. conferred the title of Emperor, and whose opinion would naturally weigh greatly with a Church on which he conferred such signal benefits. If so, what Reccared initiated, found another royal support of far grander pretensions.

But it was not long before the question was brought to a crisis which may be looked upon as the prelude to that rupture between the Churches of the East and West, which this article finally brought about. It was in the East that the dispute first began to which Eginhard alludes under the date A. D. 809. "The Emperor, having "returned from Arduenna to Aix, held a Council in the "month of November about the Procession of the Holy "Ghost, which question a certain John, a monk at Jeru-"salem, first stirred[2]." This was the famous Council of Aquis-Grani (afterwards *Aix-la-Chapelle*) which resulted

[1] Mansi, XIII. 905, Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum Deum Verum, Vivificatorem omnium, a Patre et Filio procedentem.

[2] Eginhard (Migne, CIV. 472), His ita gestis de Arduenna Aquas reversus, mense Novembrio concilium habuit de processione Spiritus Sancti, quam quæstionem Ioannes quidam monachus Hierosolymis primo commovit.

in an embassy from the Emperor to the Pope Leo III. to obtain his decision on the point in debate.

The circumstances out of which the dispute at Jerusalem arose were as follows. There was at this time a convent of Latin monks on Mount Olivet, and members of their body were assailed by the John above mentioned as heretics, because they introduced the "Filioque" into the Creed. Not only at Jerusalem but at Bethlehem on Christmas-day were they attacked in this way, and in consequence sent one of their number to Rome to enquire from the highest authority they knew, what was right and what they should do. In their message they desire that Charlemagne shall be informed of this their trouble, and they urge that they have heard the Creed sung, with the clause now objected to, in the Imperial Chapel, and that the same clause occurs in two works, a homily of St Gregory and the rule of St Benedict, both of which they had received from the Emperor. They also quote a dialogue of St Benedict which the Pope had given them, and the Creed of St Athanasius, as authorities for the form they were in the habit of using. They pray to the Pope to send them certain direction.

It is stated that the Pope sent them back a form of Creed which contained a clause agreeing with and emphasizing strongly the double Procession, speaking of "the "Holy Ghost" as "proceeding equally from the Father "and the Son, and consubstantial with the Father and "the Son." But such statement is rendered more than doubtful by the nature of the Pope's subsequent conduct.

It will be observed that in their Epistle to the Pope the Jerusalem monks allude to the interest taken in them by Charlemagne, and to the services which they had heard in the Imperial Chapel. In consequence of this, as it

seems, the Pope communicated with the Emperor, and the result of his communication was the assembling of the Council at Aix, for the purpose of discussing the question of the Procession. The resolution adopted by the Council was, as might be expected, in favour of the addition, and an embassy to the Pope was decided on that his authority might be obtained in support of the insertion of the words obnoxious to the Greeks. Accounts vary as to whether two or three ambassadors were sent. The names mentioned are Bernarius, bishop of Worms, Adalard, abbot of Corbey, and by some writers also Jesse, bishop of Amiens. They were admitted to an audience, and their conference has been reported by Smaragdus[1]. In the course of the discussion St Leo admits the truth of the doctrine of the Procession from the Son, but draws a distinction between this doctrine, which he terms one of the more abstruse mysteries of the faith, and other doctrines unto the knowledge of which all may be supposed able to attain, and he is firm, all through the interview, on the impropriety of introducing the "Filioque" either in singing or reading. He also points out that there are other mysterious truths, which it has never been deemed expedient to insert in the Creed. And his ultimate advice is that the clause should be expunged from the Creed, but the doctrine contained in it freely taught and inculcated. He says further that had his opinion been asked before the words were inserted he should have decided against them. It is therefore impossible to believe that he would be so inconsistent as to send a Creed with such insertion to the monks at Jerusalem. A still

[1] The account given by Smaragdus (who was the abbot of St Michael in Lorraine) may be seen in Mansi, XIV. 18—22, and an English translation in Neale's *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. II, pp. 1163—1167.

more public testimony was given by him to his wish to guard the purity of the Nicene Confession. Anastasius relates that from his love and carefulness for the orthodox Faith he caused two silver shields inscribed with the Creed, one in Greek, the other in Latin, to be fixed up in the Basilica of St Peter[1]. And though Anastasius does not explain the precise object for which these shields were erected, it is clear from the quotation of the Latin inscription as given by St Peter Damian that the Creed to which the Pope desired such publicity to be given was that of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Councils. We are therefore warranted in concluding that the Roman Church had not accepted the insertion of the "Filioque" up to the time of the papacy of St Leo though it was received by the churches of Spain, Gaul and Germany, and was urged on the Pope by the imperial authority.

When the history advances about half a century further we come upon evidence that his successors in the papal chair were not actuated by the same love and zeal for the orthodox faith as himself. In A.D. 858 Nicolas I. was made Pope, and lived for nine years.

[1] Anastasius, *in vita Leonis* (Migne, CXXVIII. 1238), says, Hic vero pro amore et cautela orthodoxæ fidei fecit ubi supra [i.e. in basilica S. Petri] scuta argentea duo scripta utraque symbolo, unum quidem literis Græcis, et aliud Latinis, sedentia dextera lævaque super ingressum corporis pensantia argenti libras nonaginta quatuor et uncias sex.

The expression "super ingressum corporis" is perhaps explained by the account of the scuta given in the eleventh century by Peter Damian, *de Process. Spirit.* c. ii. (Migne, CXLV. 635), Beatus etiam Leo papa in argentea tabula quæ ante sacratissimum corpus beati Pauli Apostoli videtur erecta inter cæteras suæ fidei symbolas ait "Et in Spiritum "Sanctum Dominum et vivificatorem ex Patre procedentem, cum Patre "et Filio coadorandum et glorificandum."

A similar notice is given by Pet. Abelard, *Introd. ad Theolog.* ii. 14, and by Pet. Lombard. Sent. i. 11, only that the "Master of the Sen-"tences" places the tablets "post altare Beati Pauli."

It was during his time that the Photian controversy was raging, and among other proceedings which were involved therein, Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, drew up a charge of heresy against Pope Nicolas, one of the articles of which states that the Roman Church had corrupted the Nicene Creed by the addition of the "Filioque." In all the controversy which followed on the excommunication of the Pope by the Patriarch there is no attempt made to contradict this statement. Nicolas sought aid from the archbishops and bishops, especially of the Gallic Church, to defend his cause, and there is preserved a portion of one of his letters to Hincmar the archbishop of Rheims on this very question. The historian of the Church of Rheims[1] relates that Nicolas the Pope forwarded a letter to Hincmar and the other archbishops and bishops then presiding over the churches of the Empire, pointing out to them that the Greek Emperors (Michael and Basilius) and likewise the bishops of the East were slandering the holy Roman Church, nay even the whole Church which employed the Latin language, because they said that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. Then quoting directly the Pope's words he adds, "When

[1] Frodoardus *in Historia Eccles. Rhemens.* iii. 17, Nicolaus Papa epistolam eidem [i.e. Hincmaro] et cæteris archiepiscopis et episcopis in regno Caroli constitutis transmisit, innotescens præfatos Græcorum imperatores [i.e. Michaelem et Basilium] sed et Orientales episcopos calumniari sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, imo omnem Ecclesiam quæ Latina utitur lingua.....quod Spiritum Sanctum ex Patre Filioque procedere dicimus.....

Then quoting the Pope's words: Tua, Hincmare, charitas cum hanc epistolam legerit, mox ut etiam ad alios archiepiscopos qui in regno filii nostri Caroli gloriosi regis consistunt deferatur summopere agere studeat, ut et de his singuli in suis diœcesibus propriis una cum suffraganeis suis in cujuscunque regno sunt constituti convenienter tractare et nobis quæ repererint suggerere curent, eos incitare non negligat.

"thy grace hath read this letter, Hincmar, let it earnestly "strive to take means that it presently be set before the "other archbishops who are in the realm of our son the "glorious king Charles, and let it not neglect to urge that "each of them in their own dioceses with their suffragans "in whatever dominion they be, give the matter suitable "attention and let us know what they discover." One of the persons so urged appears to have been Ratramn the monk of Corbey, who produced a work against the objections of the Greeks. It is clear from the closing words of that treatise that it was written at some such instigation as this, for the writer says, "We have done as well as we were "able in replying to those matters which you sent to us, "and if they please you, we give God thanks, but if not, "we expect your criticism and correction." The work is in four books and to shew the importance which the writer attached to the question of the Procession, he commences with[1] the point at issue in the controversy, continuing his discussion thereof through three out of the four books, giving Scriptural, Synodical and Patristic authorities for the addition, but always writing as though such addition were taken for granted at the outset. He opens the subject thus: "Ye accuse us that we say the "Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, while "ye say that He proceeds from the Father alone. Let us "consider what is read in the Gospel and draw the tenor "of our answer from thence[2]." In this way he pro-

[1] Ratramnus, *contra Græcorum Opposita*, lib. iv. *ad fin.* Egimus velut potuimus respondentes ad ea quæ nobis scripta misistis. Quæ si placuerint Deo gratias agimus, sin vero displicuerint vestræ correctionis censuram præstolamur.

[2] *Ibid.* lib. i. c. 3. Arguitis quod Spiritum Sanctum ex Patre Filioque procedere dicamus, cum ipsi ex Patre tantum procedere dicatis. Consideremus Evangelii lectionem et ex eo responsionis tenorem capiamus.

ceeds to array all his evidence for the truth of the doctrine, assuming, it would seem, that in this way he could justify the insertion of the "Filioque." We may therefore conclude that within fifty years of the death of Pope Leo the "Filioque" was accepted by all the Churches which used the Latin tongue.

It is not necessary to follow farther the history of this Creed, to which the last addition was this "Filioque" clause which found such favour in the Western Church. The history of the breach between the Churches of the East and the West hinged greatly, nay almost entirely, on this Article, yet the relation thereof, and of the attempts that have been and are even now being made to lessen the separation, scarcely falls within the account of the Nicene Creed.

It only remains to notice the use of the Creed in the Church Services. We are told by Theodorus Lector [1], that the Creed was first ordered to be repeated at every service in the Eastern Church by Timothy, archbishop of Constantinople, in the reign of the Emperor Anastasius. The same authority informs us that Peter Fullo, bishop of Antioch, ordered its regular recital in that patriarchate [2]. But it is not till the Third Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, that the custom appears to have been introduced regularly into the services of the Western Church. In that synod King Reccared, in an address which precedes the twenty-three decrees set forth by this Council, says: "After prayer to God, our Authority has "decided to institute this as a thing needful for the esta- "blishment of the Catholic Faith, that for the sake of

[1] Τιμόθεος τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον καθ' ἑκάστην σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, Theod. Lec. *H. E.* II. 563, quoted by Lord King, p. 44.

[2] ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι, *Ibid.* p. 45.

"confirming the recent conversion of our nation all the "churches of Spain and Gaul should observe this rule, "that at every time of the sacrifice before the communi- "cating of the Body or Blood of Christ, after the custom "of the Oriental fathers, they should with one accord "recite with a loud voice the most holy Symbol of the "Faith[1]," which Symbol accordingly appears in the second of the Canons (*capitula*) which follow. But though this usage as well as the acceptance of the "Filioque," which had its beginning from this Third Council of Toledo, made its way in Spain and Gaul as the king ordained, it does not seem to have been adopted so early into the Roman Order. How it was after a time introduced we learn from the early writers on that Order. Walafrid Strabo records[2] that "the Symbol of "the Catholic Faith is rightly repeated at the celebration "of mass after the Gospel, that by the Holy Gospel the "heart may believe unto righteousness, and by the Creed "confession may be made unto salvation. And it is to be "noted that the Greeks have set to music that Creed "which we in imitation of them employ in the mass, rather "than the others, because it is the Creed of the Council of "Constantinople and perchance seemed more suitable for

[1] Mansi, IX. 977, Hoc adhuc necessarium pro firmitate catholicæ fidei nostra Deo supplex instituere decrevit auctoritas, ut propter roborandam gentis nostræ novellam conversionem omnes Hispaniarum et Galliæ ecclesiæ hanc regulam servent ut omni sacrificii tempore ante communicationem corporis Christi vel sanguinis juxta Orientalium Patrum morem unanimiter clara voce sacratissimum fidei recenseant symbolum.

[2] Walaf. Strab. *de Rebus eccl.* 22 (Migne, CXIV. 947), Symbolum quoque fidei catholicæ recte in Missarum solemniis post Evangelium recensetur, ut per sanctum Evangelium corde credatur ad justitiam, per Symbolum autem confessio fiat ad salutem. Et notandum Græcos illud Symbolum quod nos ad imitationem eorum intra Missas adsumimus, potius quam alia, in cantilenæ dulcedine ideo transtulisse quia Constantinopolitani

"musical use than the Nicene Creed, which preceded it "in date. And that the devotion of the faithful might, "even in the celebrations of the sacraments, recite anti- "dotes to the poison of the heretics, compiled in their "own imperial city. From them therefore the custom is "believed to have come to the Romans. But among "the Gauls and Germans, after the expulsion of the "heretic Felix, who was condemned under Charles the "most noble Emperor of the Franks, the same symbol "began to be repeated more extensively and more fre- "quently in the Office of Mass. Also in the Council of "Toledo it was laid down that on every Sunday the "same Symbol should be recited according to the custom "of the Churches of the East, so that before the Lord's "Prayer is said more public witness should be borne to "the true Faith, and that the hearts of the people should "come purified to taste the body and blood of Christ." There can be no doubt that this writer[1] is speaking of the uninterpolated Creed of Constantinople, as he lived before the time of Pope Nicolas I., and that he correctly represents the introduction of the use of the Creed into the Services of the Church, first from the Council of

concilii proprium est et fortasse aptius videbatur modulis sonorum quam Nicænum, quod tempore prius est. Et ut contra hæreticorum venena, in ipsis etiam Sacramentorum celebrationibus medicamenta apud regiæ suæ urbis confecta, fidelium devotio replicaret. Ab ipsis ergo ad Romanos ille usus creditur pervenisse. Sed apud Gallos et Germanos, post dejectionem Felicis hæretici, sub gloriosissimo Carolo Francorum Rectore damnati, idem Symbolum latius et crebrius in Missarum cœpit officiis iterari. Concilio quoque Toletano statutum est, omni Dominica idem Symbolum secundum morem Orientalium Ecclesiarum recitari, ut priusquam Dominica dicatur oratio, fides vera manifestius testimonium habeat et ad corpus Christi ac sanguinem prælibandum pectora populorum purificata accedant.

[1] Walafrid Strabo died A.D. 849.

Toledo into Spain, then into Gaul[1] when the Adoptionist heresy was condemned, and at a later date from the Greek custom into the Church of Rome.

From another writer on the same subject we derive further information at a date about two centuries later. The Abbot Berno, of Richenau, gives the same particulars relative to the choice of the Constantinopolitan rather than the Nicene Creed, and also concerning the first introduction of the Symbol into the Services by the third Council of Toledo. But he adds some particulars of later history. In speaking of the differences in the Ecclesiastical usages of the East and the West he says[2]: "If we, as is "often stated, are forbidden to sing the Angelic Hymn on "feast days because the Roman priests do not sing it, we "may in like manner leave unsaid the Creed after the "Gospel, because the Romans, even up to the time of "the Emperor Henry of blessed memory, never sang it. "But being asked in my presence by the same Emperor "why this was their use, I heard them give an answer "of this nature: That forsooth the Roman Church had "never been tainted with any dregs of heresy, but re- "mained unshaken in the soundness of the Catholic faith "according to the teaching of St Peter; and so it was more "needful for that Symbol to be frequently sung by those

[1] Berno Augiensis died 1045.

[2] Bernonis Augiensis *Libellus de quibusdam rebus ad missæ officium pertinentibus* (Migne, CXLII. 1061), Nam si ideo ut sæpe dictum, illum angelicum hymnum prohibemur in festivis diebus canere eo quod Romanorum presbyteri non solent eum canere, possumus simili modo post Evangelium Symbolum reticere quod Romani usque ad hæc tempora divæ memoriæ Henrici Imperatoris nullo modo cecinerunt. Sed ab eodem interrogati cur ita agerent me coram assistente, audivi eos hujusmodi responsum reddere, videlicet quod Romana ecclesia non fuisset aliquando ulla hæreseos fæce infecta, sed secundum Sancti Petri doctrinam in soliditate Catholicæ fidei permaneret inconcussa, et ideo magis

"who might be tainted by any heresy. But the Lord "Emperor did not desist until with general consent he "persuaded the Apostolic Lord Benedict that they should "chant that Symbol at the public mass." The Lord Emperor here spoken of is Henry II. of Germany, and the Apostolic Lord Benedict is Pope Benedict VIII. No one can read the praises[1] lavished on this superstitious Emperor by the monkish chroniclers of Germany, without feeling sure that the interpolated Creed which had so long found favour in Spain, and Gaul, and Germany, would be that on behalf of which his exertions were used; nor can we contemplate the very substantial reasons[2] which the Pope had for complying with the Emperor's request without a conviction that with the custom which the Lord Emperor advocated was introduced the form of Creed which the Lord Emperor most favoured. Thus the "Filioque," accepted as part of the Creed of the Church by Pope Nicolas, found its way into the Mass service under Benedict VIII.

his necessarium esse illud symbolum sæpius cantando frequentare qui aliquando ulla hæresi potuerunt maculari. At Dominus Imperator non antea desiit quam omnium consensu id Domino Benedicto Apostolico persuasit ut ad publicam missam illud decantarent.

[1] For a specimen of such laudation v. Heitmari *Chron.* VI. 61, in vol. v. pp. 835—836 of Pertz. *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica.*

[2] Henry had aided Benedict to a conquest over the rival pseudo-Pope Gregory in 1012. Compare also (Mansi, XIX. 331—334), "*Privilegium Henrici Imperatoris quo patrimonia Romanæ Ecclesiæ ab antecessoribus piis ecclesiis collata, Benedicto pontifici gratitudinis ergo et pietatis in principem Apostolorum amore confirmavit,*" for evidence of the great weight which an Imperial request must have exercised over the Apostolic Lord Benedict.

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

I. *On the name "Nicene" applied to the Constantinopolitan Creed.*

THAT the Constantinopolitan Creed has long been, as it is now, called the Nicene Creed there can be no doubt, but it is questionable whether the confusion between the two names dates from so early a period as is generally supposed. The statement that it was an early confusion rests on the words of Vossius, *De tribus Symbolis dissertatio tertia* p. 60, who says: Hoc vero Symbolum non *Constantinopolitanum* modo, sed *Nicenum* etiam a Scriptoribus vocatur. Ita Magister sententiarum lib. I. distinct. XI: "Illud" inquit, "est Symbolum quod in Missa can-"tatur, editum in Concilio Niceno." Eumque secutus Alexander Alesius qui anno vixit MCCXXX., Parte iii. Quæst. LXIX. memb. V. "Tria sunt Symbola: primum Apostolorum; secundum, Patrum Nicenorum, quod canitur in Missa; tertium Athanasii." At nihil certius quam illud in Missa cani consuetum vere esse Constantinopolitanum; unde et sic vocare mavult Erasmus, *de Symbolo Catech.* ii. Priores secutus Durandus Mimatensis qui anno vixit MCCLXXX. Hic, *Rational. Off. Div.* lib. IV. cap. XXV. cum de Apostolico et Athanasiano Symbolo egisset, subjungit: "Tertium est Nicenum, quod Damasus Papa, ex con-"stitutione universalis Synodi, apud Constantinopolim

"celebratæ, instituit." Quid apertius quam Nicenum vocare quod Constantinopoli conditum fatetur? Ac loquitur similiter Saxo Carthusianus libro de vita Christi. Sed omnes persequi longum esset: et quædam de eo jam allata nobis initio dissertationis de Symbolo Apostolico.

These authorities are quoted from Vossius by Suicer, *Expositio Symboli Nicæno-Constantinopolitani* p. 15, and by others who have followed and written on the same subject. But as the first-cited writer, the Master of the Sentences, died A.D. 1164, all that is proved by them is that this confusion of names had come into use by the middle of the twelfth century.

But in his next article Vossius continues: Imo sic accepit ipsa Synodus Ephesina: quando prohibet quicquam adjicere Symbolo Niceno. Nec enim interdicit usu Symboli Constantinopolitani: in quo aliqua sunt addita Niceno a Patribus Constantinopolitanis: sed Niceni Symboli nomine Constantinopolitanum comprehendit. Iudicium hoc Synodi Ephesinæ habes apud Evagrium histor. Eccles. lib. II. cap. IV.

It would seem from this passage that the Council of Ephesus regarded the Constantinopolitan Creed as the Nicene. As we have pointed out (p. 80) that the first introduction of the Council of the hundred and fifty as authorities was made at the Council of Chalcedon, and that they were not mentioned at the Council of Ephesus, it is necessary to examine the passage of Evagrius which is quoted by Vossius.

It treats of the Council of Chalcedon, and after mentioning the principal bishops who were represented or personally present, it proceeds to state that the representatives of Leo bishop of Rome demanded the exclusion of Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria from his seat as a judge in the Council. Their request was not acceded to by the imperial commissioners, and when Dioscorus took his seat a charge was made against him by Eusebius bishop of Dorylæum. The charge related to the favouring of Eutyches of which Dioscorus had been guilty, and also to the part he had taken in the violent proceedings of the Robber-

Synod at Ephesus A.D. 449. The proceedings of this Ephesian Synod were read, and at the third session Dioscorus was deposed.

At the fifth session the Council drew up a declaration of their faith, in the preamble of which are recited both the Creeds, the Nicene and the Constantinopolitan. They also confirm the decisions of the General Council of Ephesus and accept Leo's letter to Flavian as a true definition of the Faith with reference to the doctrine of the Incarnation, and conclude with a prohibition against the putting forth of any other faith or symbol.

This is the substance of that portion of the Chapter with which we are concerned. In it there is no mention of a prohibition put forth by the Council of Ephesus, and though both Creeds are mentioned they are accurately distinguished the one as the Nicene, the other as that of the hundred and fifty Holy Fathers. Nor is there in the account any intimation that the Creed of the hundred and fifty was ever read at the General Council of Ephesus.

For a concise account of the whole of the proceedings at the Council of Chalcedon, see Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, pp. 428—436.

II.

Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ.

Deum de Deo.

I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Swainson for the following details in reference to the occurrence of this clause in the MS. authorities and versions of the Constantinopolitan Creed. Dr Routh (*Scr. Eccl. Opusc.* I. 426) says that it does not occur in the Creed which he edits as that put forth by the Council of Chalcedon, nor in the Expositio Fidei of the Constantinopolitan Council as edited in the Codex Canonum Vetus Ecclesiæ Romanæ edited by Pithæus: nor does it appear in the Sixth

General A.D. 681: nor in a copy of the Creed sent by Jeremias patriarch of Constantinople to Tubingen, nor in a confession of Mark bishop of Ephesus the MS. of which was in the possession of Sir Thos. Phillips in 1840 when Dr Routh's work was published. All the Latin MSS. of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon omit the phrase (Baluzii *Nov. Coll. Canonum* 1256). It is found in the Second form given by Epiphanius (Migne, *Patr. Gr. Lat.* XLIII. 232), in the translation of Hilary of Poictiers (*De Synodis*, Migne X. 536), but not in the *Prisca Canonum translatio* (Mansi VI. 1125, and Hahn, p. 107). It is not found in the translation made by Dionysius Exiguus, (Hahn p. 113) nor in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Heurtley, *Harm. Symb.* p. 158), but occurs in the translations collected by Isidore Mercator (Mansi III. 574) in the Acts of the Council of Toledo A.D. 589 (Mansi IX. 977) which instances seem to point to the conclusion that not only do we owe the addition of the "Filioque" to Spain but that of the "Deum de Deo" also.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

Symbolum quod Ecclesiarum omnium fidem loquitur.
JOH. CASSIAN, *De Incarn. Christi*, VI. 3.

IN treating of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds, we have had on most points historic testimony to guide us, and it was only necessary when authorities varied, to endeavour to extract the greatest amount of truth from conflicting accounts. We have had Synodical authority, of less weight indeed at some times than at others, for all the changes and additions which have been made to the original Symbol. The marks which theological conflict have impressed upon it can all be traced, and we can also make out with considerable certainty the time and manner of its reception into its present place in the Services of the Church.

With the Apostles' Creed the case is entirely different. It has grown into its present form without observation. Several centuries of the Christian era elapsed before the words which we now use and style by the venerable name of "the Apostles'" were put together into one Symbol. They first appear as we now have them in the writings of a dignified ecclesiastic, but have not the authority which

would be derived from Synodical sanction. By examining the Creeds of the Western Churches we are able to note the first appearance of each article of this Creed, but there is hardly ever more than a faint trace of the reason why one clause receives an addition in one Church, and another in another. It is interesting to speculate on the cause of these additions, and we may perhaps come near to the truth in some of our conclusions, but they must still remain mere speculations.

Our only means then of tracing out the history of the Apostolic Symbol is to take in review the Creeds of the Western Church, beginning with the simplest and earliest of them, and, following the course of time, to chronicle each addition on its first appearance. This process must of course demonstrate that the venerable name of the Symbol is only to be taken to mean that it contains nothing but Apostolic doctrine. At the same time, since it shews that the form of which we are treating, though without Synodical authority, has been widely received, as speaking the faith of all the Churches; even if our sense of its antiquity be diminished, our regard for words which have met with such wide acceptance cannot fail to be intensified.

It has been pointed out that the earliest Creeds set forth in the Churches of Western Christendom to which a date can be assigned are of Eastern origin, and therefore come to us from a source where the Creeds were expanded at a very early date. These forms introduced into the West in the second century are no exception to this rule. But while they contain allusions to errors which were never very prevalent in the West and which therefore call for no contradiction in the Western Creeds, they include a very large portion of the language and still

more of the doctrine of the Apostolic Symbol. To make this apparent it is only necessary to place side by side with the Apostles' Creed such portions of the Creeds of St Irenæus and Tertullian as correspond therewith. Such a comparison will make it evident that before the expansions of the Western Creed commenced, there was in the West a type on which such expansions might and would most naturally be based.

The Apostles' Creed.	*Creeds of St Irenæus.*	*Creeds of Tertullian.*
1. I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth:	I believe in one God the Father Almighty, who made heaven and earth...	I believe in one God the Creator of the world, who produced all out of nothing.....
2. And in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord,	And in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God [our Lord],	And in the Word His Son [Jesus Christ],
3. Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,	Who was made flesh [of the Virgin],	Who through the Spirit and Power of God the Father descended into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and born of her;
4. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried,	And in His suffering [under Pontius Pilate],	Was fixed on the cross [under Pontius Pilate]; was dead and buried;
5. He descended into hell; The third day He rose again from the dead,	and in His rising from the dead;	rose again the third day;
6. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty;	and in His ascension in the flesh;	was taken into heaven and sat down at the right hand of God.
7. From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.	and in His coming from heaven...that He may execute just judgment on all.	He will come to judge the wicked to eternal fire.
8. I believe in the Holy Ghost;	And in the Holy Ghost.	And in the Holy Spirit sent by Christ.

The Apostles' Creed.	*Creeds of St Irenæus.*	*Creeds of Tertullian.*
9. The holy Catholic Church; The Communion of Saints;		
10. The Forgiveness of sins;		
11. The Resurrection of the body,	And that Christ shall come from heaven to raise up all flesh.....	And that Christ will after the revival of both body and soul with the
12. And the life everlasting.	and to adjudge the impious and unjust..... to eternal fire and to give to the just and holy immortality and eternal glory.	restoration of the flesh, receive His holy ones into the enjoyment of life eternal and the promises of heaven.

It will be observed that in the above arrangement the words of the Fathers have been placed opposite to the Articles with which they correspond, and the portions which are extracted from the other Creeds of St Irenæus and Tertullian, given in the Appendix to the first Chapter, have been enclosed in brackets. Thus some slight alteration of order has been rendered necessary, but the comparison shews that the portions of the Apostolic Creed unrepresented in the Symbols of the second century are very few. The conception by the Holy Ghost is omitted entirely by St Irenæus, though an allusion to it occurs in Tertullian. As might be expected, neither Creed contains the first part of the fifth Article, "He descended into "Hell," nor have they the ninth and tenth, "The "holy Catholic Church, The Communion of Saints, The "Forgiveness of sins." But, with these exceptions, the substance of the Apostolic Creed was circulated in the Confessions of the Western Church as early as A.D. 180.

Thus much has been premised about the Creeds imported from the East, to point out that they led the

way to nearly all the later expansions of the Western Symbols. Let us now examine these Symbols. And it would seem to be the natural course in such an investigation to turn first to Rome as the mother-city of the Western Churches. When we do so, however, though we discover some Creeds in the Sacramentaries of the Roman Church and in the writings of Roman Fathers which bear unmistakable evidence of their early date, we are met, as we have seen, by the difficulty of assigning them to their proper times. We have alluded to some of the Creeds in the first chapter[1], and the commencement of another of early date is given to us by St Leo in one of his letters. "All the faithful," he says, "profess that they believe in God the Father Almighty, "and in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord, who was "born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary[2]." This fragment is taken from an Epistle written A. D. 449, concerning the Eutychian controversy, and may fitly be quoted here as demonstrating, on the testimony of a Roman Father, the expansion of the Symbol in that Church in the same manner as in other Western Churches. It will be observed, as we proceed, that the Creeds quoted as Roman, or in accordance with the Creed of Rome, are given on the authority of writers who were not members of that Church. And though, as will be shewn, there is no reason to doubt the credibility of their testimony, the slightest direct evidence on the point seems to have considerable value.

For this reason may also be quoted a form of Symbol

[1] See p. 29.

[2] CREED OF ST LEO. *S. Leonis Magni ad Flav. Ep.* (Mansi, v. 1367). Fidelium universitas profitetur, credere se, in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine.

taken from a Sacramentary ascribed to Pope Gelasius (about A. D. 495). Its words are "I believe in God the "Father Almighty. I believe in Jesus Christ his only "Son our Lord, who was born and suffered. I believe in "the Holy Ghost, the Holy Church, the remission of Sins, "the resurrection of the flesh[1]." Though there is no more direct evidence to which we can fix a date, these two forms seem enough to warrant the acceptance of the Roman Creed of Rufinus, hereafter to be quoted, as a true memorial of the Confession used in that Church when he wrote. It has been urged that we cannot gather with any certainty from Rufinus what the Roman Creed of his time was[2]. But the commencement of the quotation by St Leo given above, seems enough to shew that though in the Baptismal Office a shorter form of Creed was in use, yet that "all the faithful" were agreed in the acceptance of another and longer form, of which St Leo gives the beginning, which, though fragmentary, is sufficient to shew us what was the nature of the expansions admitted into it.

It has been necessary to preface our account of the Apostles' Creed with this brief notice of Roman forms of Confession, because we cannot quote a Roman Creed as our first example, but must take a form already set forth as used in the Church of Carthage. This is the Creed of St Cyprian cited in the first chapter, containing the following articles, the numbering of which indicates their place in the complete form of the Apostolic Creed.

[1] Creed of Gelasian Sacramentary. Muratori, *Liturg. Vat. Rom.* I. p. 570. Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem. Credo in Jesum Christum, filium Ejus unicum, dominum nostrum natum et passum. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.

[2] Ffoulkes, on the *Athanasian Creed*, p. 94.

(1) "I believe in God the Father.
(2) "In Christ the Son.
(8) "In the Holy Spirit.
(10) "In the remission of Sins.
(12) "In life eternal.
(9) "Through the Holy Church."

Lest it should be urged that the controversial work from which this Creed is gathered is of such a nature that we cannot feel sure that St Cyprian quoted more of the African Symbol than was suitable for his purpose, it may be well to place side by side with it a form used at a much later period in another Church of Northern Africa. This is the confession preserved in the works of Vigilius, Bishop of Thapsus (A. D. 484). Speaking of Candidates for Baptism he gives the following as the Creed which they recite:

(1) "I believe in God the Father Almighty.
(2) "And in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son.
(8) "And in the Holy Spirit[1]."

A form which shews unmistakably the existence of brief baptismal Creeds in Northern Africa.

At a still later period, about the middle of the sixth century, we find the bishop of Hermiane, a Church in the same district as Thapsus, making mention of a form of equal brevity as still preserved in their office of Baptism. "Since," says he, "they have truly confessed, or others "professed on their behalf at their baptism, that they "believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ "his Son, and in the Holy Ghost[2], as the authorized Symbol

[1] Baptismal Creed of Vigilius of Thapsus. Vigil. Taps. *De Trinitate*, lib. XII. (Migne, LXII. 314). Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unigenitum, et in Spiritum Sanctum.

[2] Shorter Creed of Facundus Hermianensis. *Fac. Herm., Epist. Fid. Cathol. in Def. Trium Capitulorum* (Migne, LXVII. 871). Quoniam revera si veraciter confessi sive alii pro eis cum baptizarentur professi

"contains, they ought also truly to believe." And this brief baptismal profession existed, as will be seen, at the same time and place as a longer form soon to be alluded to.

From these examples we may conclude that in the time of St Cyprian, and for a long while afterwards, the baptismal Creeds in the Church of Northern Africa were of as brief a character, or even more brief, than that which is quoted by the bishop of Carthage, and that there is no reason why we should refuse to accept this which occurs in a discussion on baptism, as the Baptismal form to which he was accustomed.

This Creed of St Cyprian supplies us with the exact words of the eighth, tenth and twelfth Articles of our present Apostles' Creed, and also with the commencement of the first article. As we proceed, each fresh article or portion of an article found in use will be added to this ground-work, so that the manner of introduction of each clause as well as its date may be noted with some degree of accuracy.

About ten years later than the Creed of St Cyprian is that of Novatian, which has been quoted in a former chapter[1]. It seems necessary to introduce a mention of it here, as it is the only means which remains to us of connecting the Roman Church of early times with the Western Creed. For the schism which Novatian caused is not held to have interfered with the orthodoxy of his writings, neither was it considered to do so by his contemporaries. In the records of the treatment of Novatian and of his conduct under it, which are preserved by Eusebius and Socrates, he is not regarded as a heretic, but only as the

sunt credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem et in Jesum Christum, filium ejus et in Spiritum Sanctum, quod Symboli tenet auctoritas, veraciter quoque credere debuerunt.

[1] See p. 29.

advocate of a stricter form of discipline[1]. His followers too appear not to have entertained opinions on doctrinal points at variance with the sentiments of the orthodox Christians. His creed may therefore be accepted as a form of confession in use in the Roman Church in the middle of the third century.

It contains these articles:

(1) I believe in God the Father Lord Almighty.

(2) In Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Lord our God[2].

(3) And in the Holy Ghost.

It will be observed here, that although not comprising as many articles as the African Creed of St Cyprian, yet the first and second of them are more expanded; and though the words of such expansion are not in exact accord with those of the Apostles' Creed, they are of the same purport, and correspond also closely with the African Creeds of the fifth and sixth centuries which have just been cited. God the Father is here "the Lord Almighty," and Jesus Christ his Son has the additional definition of "the Lord our God."

When we pass from Novatian's Creed a period of eighty years elapses before we find another form of the Western Symbol to which we can attach much confidence. It is true that in the Martyrologies and in the acts of the Saints we find forms of Creed that are assigned to this period, and set forth as being used in Baptismal Services. But their character in most instances is far too elaborate to admit of their being accepted as of the date to which they lay claim.

To take one as an example. In the *Acta* of St Sa-

[1] In Socr. *H. E.* IV. 28. Ναυάτος μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ περὶ πολιτείας ἀκριβοῦς διεκρίθη, ἀλλ' οὖν γε τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτὴν οὐ μετέθηκεν. Cf. also Eusebius, *H. E.* VI. 43. And on the orthodoxy of Novatian see an essay by Lumper prefixed to his works (Migne, III. 881).

[2] *Dominum Deum nostrum*, in agreement with *Jesum Christum*.

vinus, who was bishop of Sens and suffered martyrdom, we have a Creed recorded[1] as the form used A.D. 303 at the baptism of Venustianus. The words will be seen at once to belong to a later period than any forms we have yet examined. They are:

(1) Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?
Venustianus answered, I believe.
(2) And in Jesus Christ his Son?
He answered, I believe.
(3) And in the Holy Ghost?
He answered, I believe.
(4) And in Him who suffered,
(5) And rose again?
He answered, I believe.
(6) And in Him who ascended into heaven,
(7) And will come again to judge the quick and the dead and the world by fire?
He said, I believe.
And in His advent and His kingdom:
(10) In the remission of sins,
(11) And the resurrection of the flesh?
Venustianus answered, I believe in Christ the Son of God, and may He enlighten me.

Dr Heurtley has quoted[2] two passages relative to the nature of the authority of these Roman martyrologies which, even if the character of the records themselves had not done so, must prevent us from attaching any credit to the evidence derived from them, and we are therefore carried forward to the year A.D. 341 before we reach any firm ground in our investigation.

[1] *Baluzii Miscellanea*, II. 54. The creed is given by Martène and Dr Heurtley. For examples of other creeds of a similar kind see Heurtley's *Harm. Symbol.* pp. 106, 107.

[2] *Harm. Symb.* p. 104, note.

At that time Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, was an exile at Rome, having been banished from his bishopric by the Arian party, to whom he was bitterly opposed. Having supported the orthodox against the Arians at the Nicene Council, he afterwards wrote against the Arian heresy, but his treatise (directed against Asterius) was thought to tend toward the errors of Sabellius or Paul of Samosata. He undertook to destroy his book at the request of an assembly of bishops held at Jerusalem A.D. 335, but having delayed, for some reason unmentioned, to carry his promise into effect, his opponents procured his deposition by the Synod of Constantinople in the next year. Thereupon he left Ancyra and came to Rome to Pope Julius, to whom his adversaries had previously written against him. After waiting at Rome, whither his opponents also had been summoned, for a year and three months, he wrote to the Pope before his departure, and in his letter includes a profession of his faith, which he describes[1] as "the Faith which I learnt and was taught from the Holy Scriptures." The first portion of his letter is devoted to a refutation of the errors of his Arian opponents, and in the later portion, after the record of his Creed, he begs the Pope to circulate this confession of his throughout the Churches, that all may know the truth concerning his belief. Upon this he was admitted by the Pope to communion with the Church in Rome A.D. 342.

His Creed being that of a Greek was probably written in that language, as we have received it, and is of the following form[2]:

[1] *Epiphanius Hæres.* LXXII. πίστις ἣν ἔμαθον ἔκ τε τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐδιδάχθην.

[2] CREED OF MARCELLUS OF ANCYRA. *Epiphanius Hæres.* LXXII. (Migne, *Patr. Gr. Lat.* XLII. 385). Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν· τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου· τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυ-

(1) I believe in God Almighty.

(2) And in Christ Jesus His Son, the only begotten, our Lord.

(3) Who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary.

(4) Who under Pontius Pilate was crucified and buried.

(5) And on the third day rose from the dead.

(6) Ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father.

(7) Whence he is coming to judge quick and dead.

(8) And in the Holy Ghost.

(9) The Holy Church.

(10) The remission of sins.

(11) The resurrection of the flesh.

(12) Everlasting life.

Here then we have a form approaching very nearly in extent and language to the present Apostles' Creed; but because it is capable of proof that the Roman Church used at Baptism, and still uses, a much less elaborate form, an endeavour has been made to shew that this Creed does not represent the Roman Creed of the time to which it belongs. It has been suggested[1] that it is the Aquileian Creed, with the addition of the final Article of "the life everlasting," of which the Orientals were so fond.

But against this statement may be urged the fact that Pope Julius admitted the author to communion after the confession had been seen by him, a step which he would hardly have taken had the Creed set forth been couched in language not accepted in the Church over which he

ρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν· ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

[1] Ffoulkes, on the *Athanasian Creed*, p. 173.

presided. It must also be remembered that the deposition of Marcellus had been pronounced by a synod, and that too at Constantinople, it would therefore be needful that Julius should be well certified, when he admitted the deposed Bishop to communion, that he was free from the taint of heresy which had been charged against him. Now what could be a greater proof of the orthodoxy of the applicant than that he should set forth his belief in the words of the Church to which he had fled in his exile? It is easy to object against Marcellus that elsewhere he sets forth his faith in the language of the Nicene Symbol. But to what does such an objection amount? To this and to no more; that when in his own land and among his own people he used the Creed which was set forth by synodical authority which all the churches of the East revered, while under the very exceptional circumstances of his deposition and exile he adopted the words of the Creed of that orthodox Church which was at the head of Western Christendom.

In supposing that in the Church of Rome there were at this time two forms of Creed, one of a shorter character and used in the Baptismal services, and the other more extended and doctrinal, we do no more than presume on the existence in the metropolitan city of the West of such a duplicate symbol as we have seen in existence in Carthage, and shall have occasion to dwell on again when we bring forward the longer Creed of Facundus[1]. And to warrant the supposition of a longer Creed in addition to the admitted briefer form, we have a specimen of such extended Creed in existence in the famous Letter of St Leo to Flavian, already quoted[2], which form, though fragmentary, yet agrees almost word for word, as far as it

[1] See p. 166. [2] See p. 113.

goes, with the language of Marcellus. Moreover, it will be shewn that, within less than a century from the time of Marcellus, a similar Creed was in use at Ravenna, and that within less than half a century after his date we find Rufinus commenting on a similarly expanded Creed of the Church of Aquileia, from which it is suggested that Marcellus drew his form of confession. Is it not much more probable that Ravenna and Aquileia followed the form of the Church at Rome than that she was guided by their use? In other matters Aquileia held a second place to Rome, and was proud to hold it. It may fairly be supposed therefore that, as she was indebted to Rome in other respects, she was also indebted to her for a form of Creed which the contests with Sabellianism forced her to increase by the addition of those phrases which Rufinus points out as purely of Aquileian origin.

In the Creed put forward by Marcellus we find by far the largest portion of the Apostles' Creed embodied. In addition to what we have already observed in the symbols of St Cyprian and Novatian, we have now for the first time either the whole or great portions of the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh Articles. Jesus Christ is "born of "the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, crucified under "Pontius Pilate and buried, and on the third day is raised "from the dead, ascends into heaven, and sitteth on the "right hand of the Father, whence He is coming to judge "quick and dead." This is exactly the sort of expansion of the second article that we should expect. It is enough at Baptism that confession be made in words very nearly corresponding to the language used when our Lord instituted that Sacrament, but for the purposes of exposition and catechizing the details of the Incarnation are introduced, and a longer form is the result; the details in the Western Creed being of a character suitable for instruction, rather than designed as safeguards against erroneous teaching.

The amplification of the remaining articles takes somewhat of the form of St Cyprian's symbol. With him the faith is in "remission of sins and life eternal through the "Holy Church." To this Marcellus adds, "the resurrection "of the body," and also ranges belief in the Holy Church as a separate article. The article on the resurrection being found in the Creeds both of Irenæus and Tertullian, is not unlikely to have been included in a longer Roman Creed, if such creed were in existence.

Much has been said of the Eastern character given to the Creed of Marcellus by the addition of the twelfth article. We have just noticed its occurrence in St Cyprian's Creed a century anterior to the time of Marcellus; and towards the close of the fourth century, that is to say within fifty years after the confession of Marcellus, the article occurs in some of the Creeds of St Augustine. And there is this fact to be observed, that in such of the sermons on the Creed as all admit to be the genuine productions of that Father, the twelfth article appears in some forms and in others is omitted. If such variations occur in St Augustine may not a like variety have prevailed in Rome in the time before the words of the Creed became fixed? In that case it needs no violence of supposition to imagine that while Marcellus gives, as it is natural that he would do, a translation of the most complete form he could find, Rufinus commented on a Creed which, like his own at Aquileia, was without the article on eternal life. Surely such a conjecture is more probable than that Marcellus first made himself master of the Creed of Aquileia, then adding thereto the twelfth article from an Oriental form, brought this unique Creed to Rome, and presented it to the Bishop, to whom it must, on this sup-

position, have been unknown, and that the latter thereupon admitted the exiled bishop to his communion.

It has been observed above that the Creed of Marcellus was probably in Greek, though of this we cannot be certain, as we only derive it from Epiphanius, who, himself writing in Greek, might have made a Greek version of what was originally in another tongue. But in cases where such translations are made it is unusual to find no notice taken of the fact. That it was not uncommon to use a Greek Creed before Baptism in the Churches of the West is well ascertained, and some such forms have been preserved, the best known being perhaps the one[1] in Anglo-Saxon letters in the Psalter of King Athelstan in the British Museum.

The next step in our enquiry brings us to the creeds which may be gathered from the writings of Rufinus, who was a presbyter of the Church at Aquileia, and died about A.D. 410. His work is one of a kind common in the East and West in the fourth century. Of Western Commentators on the Creeds the most important are Rufinus and St Augustine, and a little later Nicetas and Venantius Fortunatus. Most of their works take the form of Sermons delivered to the candidates for Baptism, and contain a sort of brief explanation of the Creed, but a few are of a more comprehensive character, and deal in some degree with the history of the Creed. Of this latter class is the work of Rufinus, which has therefore been entitled a "Commentary on the Creed."

But a recent writer[2] has assailed the work which has

[1] It was first published by Archbishop Usher (*de Symbolis*, p. 6), and a facsimile of it may be seen in Dr Heurtley's *Harm. Symb.* facing p. 80. On the employment of a Greek Creed in the Western church at Baptism, see Ffoulkes, on the *Athanasian Creed*, p. 119.

[2] Ffoulkes, on the *Athanasian Creed*, chap. I. The boldness of Mr

hitherto been received as undoubtedly the composition of Rufinus, and has endeavoured to shew that it is not worthy to be accepted as evidence of the form of the Creed of Rome before the seventh century. It therefore becomes necessary, before introducing the Creeds which are recorded in this Commentary, to examine in detail some of the objections raised against it.

We will first take the objection drawn from a comparison of this treatise with the other writings of Rufinus. For this presbyter has written two works in which portions of

Ffoulkes' hypothesis cannot be better shewn than by putting in close sequence the various demands which it makes on the reader's imagination. Desiring to shew that the Commentary of Rufinus is "worthless as evidence" in the history of the creed "till the seventh century," he proceeds thus. Finding the notable passage of Rufinus, "Tradunt majores," in the work on *Ecclesiastical Offices* by St Isidore, Bishop of Seville (ob. A.D. 636), he starts the question, could St Isidore have written the Commentary attributed to Rufinus? For St Isidore was the son of a governor of Carthagena, who *is believed* to have been a son or son-in-law of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. But this governor of Carthagena was banished, and *perhaps* retired to the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, whose capital was Ravenna. St Isidore *is believed* to have been born during this exile, and he *may have been born, reared, and educated* in or near Ravenna, and so have known of the creed of Aquileia, which *most probably* had been commented on by Rufinus, whose commentary is *most probably* preserved in the work of St Nicetas, bishop of Aquileia, entitled *Explanatio Symboli*. With the enlarged commentary on this work by Venantius Fortunatus, who was also connected with Aquileia (which work other persons have up to this time considered to be an abridgement of Rufinus), he *may have* become acquainted. And as Pope Gregory, who sent Archbishop Laurence to Canterbury, can be shewn to have known something of Leander the elder brother of St Isidore, *it may be* that the latter knew the archbishop, and that Archbishop Laurence, wanting a commentary on the Apostles' Creed to carry with him into his distant diocese, *may have asked St Isidore* (about whom it is not shewn that he knew anything whatever) to prepare him such a work, and thus St Isidore *may perhaps have expanded* the commentary of Venantius Fortunatus into what is now known as the Commentary of Rufinus. Granted so much, what may not be proved?

Creeds occur, one to defend himself against St Jerome, the other to clear himself to Pope Anastasius. The article on which is founded the objection to the genuineness of his Commentary in this comparison is that of the "descent "into hell." In the commentary this article is set down as peculiar to the Aquileian Creed, while in the other accounts which Rufinus gives of the Creed it does not appear. But surely he himself accounts for the omission. For take his letter to the Pope, and we see at once that what he was there setting forward was not the Creed of Aquileia, but a Creed to which all the Churches would agree. His aim is to shew not what the peculiar needs of his own Church had caused to be inserted in *her* Creed, but what all Christendom as well as Aquileia would accept. For at the end he says, "This faith which I have set forth "is that which the Roman Church and the Churches of "Alexandria and Aquileia hold, and which also is preached "at Jerusalem[1]." Would it not have been strange in such a summary of the faith as is here indicated if he had inserted articles which belonged only to the Creed of his own Church, and which seem not to have remained permanently even in that Creed[2], and some of them never to have extended to any other?

But there is another and more weighty reason why no mention of this article on the Descent into Hell appears in either of the Apologies of Rufinus. He had to defend himself to the Pope and against St Jerome on a charge of Origenism. He had translated the Greek work of Origen περὶ ἀρχῶν into Latin, and was supposed, from his translation, to be tainted with the errors imputed to that author. These errors are said to have been the following. In the doctrine of the Holy Trinity Origen was stated to have taught that there was an inequality between the Persons. On the doctrine of the Incarnation the Arians claimed him as their great forerunner. He taught that the souls of men exist previous to their union with terrestrial bodies, to which they are joined on account of their faults. That at the resurrection we shall all be clothed with heavenly or ethereal bodies; that after long periods of time the damned shall be delivered from their torments, and even Satan shall be in the end restored; that the earth shall after her conflagration become habitable again and be the abode of men and animals, and that this process shall be again and again repeated.

[1] Rufini *Apologia ad Anastasium Romanæ urbis episcopum* (Migne, XXI. 623). Hanc fidem quam exposui.....id est quam ecclesia Romana, et Alexandrina, et Aquileiensis nostra tenet, quæque Hierosolymis prædicatur.

[2] See infra, p. 132.

With these errors Rufinus was charged, and both his treatises are solely directed to clearing himself from these accusations. It will be seen at a glance that some of the doctrines imputed to Origen have never been noticed in any Creed. It will also be seen that there are articles common to most Creeds which it was not necessary to recite in any disavowal of these erroneous tenets. It was only needful for Rufinus in his defence to quote his Creed to such an extent as to refute these objections, and to leave unnoticed the remaining articles. And this is exactly the course which he has adopted.

To take first his letter to the Pope. Here he notices very briefly the following points, and asserts his own orthodoxy on each; the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the last Judgment, the condemnation of the Devil, and the origin of souls. These and no others were the points on which his defence was called for. It was not needful therefore for him to enter upon a discussion of the nature of God the Father, nor to allude to the

Descent into Hell, but he had to speak of the Resurrection, and he naturally brings forward, as especially opposed to the teaching charged against his author Origen, the words of the Aquileian Creed. These emphasized more than usual the teaching that the resurrection would be of the very body with which the living being had been clothed on earth. The resurrection of *this* body was the phrase, and this formed the best protest he could make against being condemned for any such error. He does not say whether Origen had delivered erroneous doctrine, but concludes with a claim for himself that he has but honestly represented the language of the original. He had been requested to translate the work for the use of some persons who could read no Greek; "and," says he, "I have merely "given Latin words to the Greek sentiments. If in the "sentiments there is anything praiseworthy it is not mine: "likewise if there be anything culpable neither is that "mine[1]."

In his Apology to St Jerome it is exactly the same. He confines his defence to the same points, and treats them, though at greater length, in precisely the same order. He seems to have had before him certain definite charges with which he had to deal, and in neither work does he wander wide of his subject. He can scarcely then be represented as having given[2] in these works a full account of his faith. He appeals to the Creed and discusses such articles thereof as the work before him called for, but he mentions, as he was bound to do, other subjects not in any Creed, and omits some which almost every Creed contains.

It would be manifestly unfair to found any argument against the genuineness of his Commentary on the Creed,

[1] Rufinus (Migne, xxi. 626).

[2] See Rufinus, Migne, ut supra, 543—548.

on an omission occurring in such works as we have described. Had it been possible to point out any *contradiction* in the works compared, there might have been ground for question. But so far as these Apologies go they entirely bear out the statements of the Commentary, and even give some undesigned coincidences which support the account of one of the other variations, presently to be noticed, which the Commentary mentions in the Aquileian Creed. For in the description of the Trinity, the *incorporeal* and *invisible* nature of the Godhead is especially asserted; and while no definition of the First Person as distinct from the other two is attempted, the language is such as to shew that such epithets as *invisible* and *incorporeal* were familiar to the writer when speaking on this subject[1].

An argument against Rufinus is founded by Mr Ffoulkes on the words which he asserts to have been added to the first article in the Creed of his own Church. Rufinus says that the article was: "I believe in God the Fa-"ther Almighty *invisible and impassible.*" And thus explains the reason of the addition: "You must know "that these two expressions are not in the Creed of the "Church of Rome. But it is clear that they were added "with us, on account of the heresy of Sabellius, that "namely which is called by our people the Patripassian, "that is, which says that even the Father himself was born "from the Virgin, and affirms that He was made visible "and even suffered in the flesh. That such impiety re-"garding the Father might be excluded, our forefathers "seem to have added these words, and to have said that "the Father is *invisible and impassible*[2]." This passage, it is

[1] V. ut supra, 54.

[2] Rufinus *in Symb.* § 5 (Migne, xxi. 370). Sciendum quod duo isti sermones in Ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habentur. Constat autem apud nos additos hæreseos causa Sabellii, illius profecto quæ a nostris

said, must be an interpolation of later date, for there exists another treatise on the Creed of Aquileia by St Nicetas, who became bishop there about fifty years after the death of Rufinus, and in that work these epithets do not occur.

First, it may be observed in reply to this objection, that the work of St Nicetas does not purport to be an explanation of the Creed of any particular Church or Churches, as does the Commentary by Rufinus. Its title is "Explanatio "Symboli B. Nicetæ Aquileiensis Episcopi habita ad "Competentes," and except that in the Article on the resurrection of the body he uses the expression "carnis *tuæ* "resurrectionem," his language most nearly corresponds with that which Rufinus calls the Roman Creed, and which may fairly be presumed to have been the typical form throughout Italy[1]. Regarded then as a general exposition of the Creed, if no such words occurred in his work as "invisible and impassible" we should have no reason to be surprised. As Rufinus himself had omitted them in his Apology to the Pope, and had only shewn his familiarity with them in an accidental manner when writing against St Jerome, so St Nicetas may have neglected in his general exposition this addition which Rufinus

"Patripassiana" appellantur; id est quæ et Patrem ipsum vel ex Virgine natum dicit et visibilem factum esse, vel passum affirmat in carne. Ut ergo excluderetur talis impietas de Patre videntur hæc addidisse majores et "invisibilem" Patrem atque "impassibilem" dixisse. On this passage, and the objections of Mr Ffoulkes, see Appendix I. to this Chapter.

[1] CREED OF ST NICETAS.

This Creed is as follows: Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in filium Ejus Jesum Christum. Qui natus est ex Spiritu Sancto et Virgine Maria. Sub Pontio Pilato passus est, tertia die resurrexit vivus a mortuis, ascendit in cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam: in remissionem peccatorum, carnis tuæ resurrectionem et in vitam æternam.

defines as a local peculiarity. Of such omission another instance will presently be adduced[1].

But singularly enough, though not inserting these words as parts of the symbol, St Nicetas in commenting on the first Article introduces both these epithets, as we have seen Rufinus do when writing against St Jerome. From which it is natural to conclude that these particular terms were, for some reason or other, so much in the minds of the Churchmen of this district, that even in a brief and general explanation like this, they force their way to prominence. Such unintentional testimony to Rufinus seems more valuable than if it had occurred in any other form. St Nicetas says: "Thou believest in God the Father Almighty, God unbegotten, who is born from none, has "beginning from none, God *invisible*, whom no eye of flesh "can see[2]." And after a few sentences, in speaking of Christ, he remarks as though bent on shewing that he knew of the dangerous errors into which some members of the Christian societies around him had been led; "He was "made man that men might see Him visibly and be saved "by His teaching. For otherwise the Divinity could not "be endured by human sight, except when made visible "by the assumption of flesh[3]." It is difficult to imagine words whereby the doctrine of Rufinus' Creed could be more clearly shewn to have been present to the mind of the Bishop as he wrote his general explanation.

And there is similar testimony in this work to the

[1] See p. 132.

[2] St Nicetas. *Explanatio Symboli* (Migne, LII. 867). Credis ergo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Deum ingenitum, qui ortus a nullo est, a nullo cœpit, Deum *invisibilem*, quem nullus carnis oculus videre sufficit.

[3] *Ibid.* col. 868. Homo factus est ut hominibus et visui et doctrinæ saluti esse posset, quia aliter Divinitas ab hominibus sustineri non poterat, nisi corporis assumptione visibilis.

other epithet "impassible." Commenting on our Lord's passion St Nicetas speaks thus: "Nor is there any reason "for confusion if you understand in what mysterious man- "ner Christ suffered, for He suffered not in His Divinity, "but in His humanity. For God is always *impassible*[1]." Does not language like this demonstrate that there was some special reason at this time in the Church of Aquileia for the use of such expressions in expositions of the Creed, and is it not the very best evidence, because given unintentionally, that the statement of Rufinus about his Creed was a correct one?

But we may gather from two other forms of the Creed of Aquileia which have been preserved to us that it was not unusual to omit these words[2]. Compared with the Creeds in use at Ravenna and Turin about the time of

[1] *Ibid.* col. 869. Nec sane est unde confundaris, si in quo sacramento passus est Christus intelligas. Passus est non Divinitate sed carne. Deus enim *impassibilis* semper est.

[2] CREEDS OF THE CHURCH OF AQUILEIA.

I. Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus, Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam, Remissionem peccatorum, Carnis resurrectionem.

II. The only points of variation in the second form are: ...Tertia die resurrexit *vivens* a mortuis.....Sanctam Ecclesiam *Catholicam*..... Carnis resurrectionem *et vitam æternam*.

Of these Creeds (which are taken from Walch, *Biblioth. Symbolica*, pp. 54, 55, and by him from *de Rubeis dissert. de lit. rit. Eccl. Forojul.* pp. 242—249) the former is almost identical with that which Rufinus calls the Roman Creed, and with the Creed given by St Maximus of Turin A.D. 460. The latter will be found to agree more nearly with the forms which are given by St Peter Chrysologus as those of the Church of Ravenna, the date of which cannot be later than A.D. 450, and which are therefore good evidence of the form of Symbol found in Northern Italy within a very short period after the date of Rufinus.

Rufinus, which are shortly to be given, these two forms seem not much removed from the date of Rufinus. Yet in neither of them do the variations on which he dwells occur, but the form of the more ancient is that of the ordinary Creed which he calls Roman. With these forms before us, it can detract nothing from the credibility of Rufinus, that the variations of the Aquileian Creed are not found in St Nicetas' explanation, while the pointed manner in which that bishop dwells on these peculiar epithets is a strong confirmation of what the presbyter has described as occurring in the fuller form of the Creed used in Aquileia.

Another objection to Rufinus has been raised upon the phrase "Tradunt majores," with which words the well-known passage in his Commentary[1] describing the formation of the Creed commences: "Majores," it is said, "but "who were they? SS. Isidore, Cassian, Maximus of Turin "and Leo, could not have been called 'ancestors' by Rufi- "nus, as they lived after him, nor again SS. Augustine, "Ambrose and Jerome, who were his contemporaries. "What Tertullian, Origen, and St Irenæus say is only "general[2]."

But is it necessary to assume that Rufinus meant this tradition to which he alludes to be founded on such a patristic ancestry as is here intimated? The language does not imply any such necessity, nor have others considered it to convey a meaning such as that which is here put upon it. Bingham evidently had no idea of such an interpretation. His words are[3], "Rufinus seems to say that there "was an ancient tradition," but whether founded on the authority of the Fathers of the Church or not he does not

[1] Rufin. in *Symb.* § 2.

[2] Ffoulkes on the *Athanasian Creed*, p. 32. [3] *Origines*, x. 3, § 5.

speculate, as there was nothing for such a speculation to be based upon. In like manner Lord King says[1], "Rufinus "...relates that they had received by tradition from their "fathers," meaning to imply thereby only those who had preceded them in order of time, and not of necessity of any dignity in the Church.

The most certain way, however, of testing the writer's meaning is to compare Rufinus with himself. A very few clauses lower down in the treatise[2] he uses the same word. He is speaking, in a passage which we have already quoted[3], of the introduction of the Sabellian heresy, and says that in opposition thereto "*videntur addidisse ma-*"*jores,*" our forefathers appear to have added the word impassible. Here "majores" manifestly applies to those who had preceded the writer in the Church of Aquileia; and if so here, why not also in the passage two or three sections before? a far more natural construction than to suppose that the writer designed to limit the application of so general a term as "majores" to the Fathers of the Church who had gone before him.

But what is thought to be the most complete demonstration that the Commentary of Rufinus is not what it professes to be, but if in part genuine, yet very largely interpolated by later hands, is a passage which occurs in the discussion of the sixth and seventh Articles: "He as-"cended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the "Father, from thence he shall come to judge the quick "and the dead." The writer places these words at the head of the section[4], as is his constant practice before the discussion of any Article, shewing in this way what were the words of the Creed of which he was treating. In the

[1] *History of the Apostles' Creed*, p. 25. [2] § 5.
[3] See p. 129, note 2. [4] For an example see p. 141.

course of his observations on the coming of Christ to judgment, he writes thus: "From[1] this we are taught not only "concerning His advent and the judgment, but concern-"ing His power and kingdom, that His power is eternal, "and His kingdom without end or decay, as is said in the "Creed: 'and of His kingdom there shall be no end.'"

These words, it is said, the author of the Commentary acknowledges "in express terms" to have been part of the Creed on which he was then commenting. But is it not strange, if this be so, that they do not, like all the rest of the words on which he comments, stand at the head of the section to which they would belong? Why has the writer in this single case broken through what in every other article is his invariable rule? May we not much more fairly consider that the Nicene Creed, of which these words form part, was known to the hearers of Rufinus as well as to himself, and that he may allude to this, the Creed which alone had synodal authority, as, *par excellence, the* Symbol? That such has been the judgment of all writers on Creeds, until the objection was put forward in our day, may be seen by an inspection of the Creeds of Rufinus as they are given in all the authors who have drawn them into form. Bingham, Walch, Martène, Heurtley, indeed all writers on the subject, with the solitary exception of Mr Ffoulkes, have considered this clause as part of the Exposition, and as forming no portion of either the Roman or Aquileian Creeds.

Admitting that there is a certain abruptness in the introduction of this word "Symbolum" without any defining epithet, an explanation is suggested by the

[1] Rufinus in *Symb.* § 34. Ex his ergo edocemur non solum de adventu et judicio sed de potestate Ejus et regno quia potestas Ejus æterna sit, et sine corruptionis fine sit regnum, sicut et in Symbolo dicitur, "Et regni Ejus non erit finis."

editor of Rufinus in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*[1], which seems much more likely to be correct than that suggested by Mr Ffoulkes. He notices that some copies read "in "Evangelio" instead of "in Symbolo." Now supposing "in Evangelio" to have been the original text, and to have been altered at a later date when the Nicene Creed was familiar to all, the whole matter becomes clear, and we are not driven to the supposition of a wholesale interpolation such as that to which this Commentary is assumed by Mr Ffoulkes to have been subjected. But though making this observation the editor does not think proper to alter the text. For St Cyril of Jerusalem makes this addition to the seventh article in his Exposition of the Creed, and with the Creed of Jerusalem, as we have already seen, Rufinus was well acquainted, and may very naturally have introduced an expression occurring there to illustrate his own explanation.

For amid all the objections raised against this Commentary on the Creed as we have received it, it is nevertheless indubitable that Rufinus did write on the Creed. Johannes Cassianus[2], who lived within fifty years of his date, testifies to this fact, and quotes a sentence out of the existing commentary, thus demonstrating that a work containing a portion of what we now receive was then circulated under the name of Rufinus. Cassian's words[3] are: "Rufinus too, a noble Christian philosopher, and no "contemptible member of the Doctors of the Church, "gives this testimony concerning our Lord's nativity "in his exposition of the Creed: For the Son, he says, "is born of a Virgin, not united to the flesh only or

[1] XXI. 370.

[2] Joh. Cassian ob. 440.

[3] Johannes Cassianus, *De Incarn. Christi*, VII. 27 (Migne, L. 258). Rufinus quoque, Christianæ philosophiæ vir, haud contemnenda ecclesiasticorum doctorum portio, ita in expositione Symboli de Domini nativitate testatur. "Filius enim" inquit "Dei nascitur ex Virgine non principaliter soli carni sociatus, sed anima inter carnem Deumque mediante generatus."

"principally, but having a soul intermediate between God "and the flesh." Some portions of this commentary were therefore known, and known too as the work of Rufinus, before the middle of the fifth century.

But it is urged that Cassian had not the work as we have it. For, it is said, he omits all reference to the traditional story of the formation of the Creed. The "tradunt majores" is the "locus classicus" of the work, and yet Cassian writes as though he had never seen it.

It may be observed in reply to this, that what is now and has long been a "locus classicus" would hardly have become so in Cassian's time, writing as he did within half a century of the author's own date. But it is scarcely possible to read Cassian's account of the Creed and believe that his words are not drawn in substance from the same treatise of Rufinus which we have preserved to us. A comparison of the two passages subjoined[1], so far from

[1] Rufinus *de Symb.* § 2 and § 1.

Symbolum autem hoc multis et justissimis ex causis appellari voluerunt. Symbolum enim Græco et indicium dici potest et collatio, hoc est, quod plures in unum conferunt. Id enim fecerunt Apostoli in his sermonibus, in unum conferendo unusquisque quod sensit... Discessuri igitur, ad prædicandum, istud unanimitatis et fidei suæ Apostoli indicium posuere.....

In his comperitur prophetia quæ dicit, Verbum enim consummans et brevians in æquitate: quia verbum breviatum faciet Dominus super terram.

Joh. Cassianus, *Hist. Lit.* VI. 3.

Symbolum, ut scis, ex collatione nomen accepit. Quod enim Græce σύμβολον dicitur, Latine collatio nominatur. Collatio autem ideo quia in unum collatâ ab Apostolis Domini totius Catholicæ legis fide, quidquid per universum divinorum voluminum corpus immensâ funditur copiâ totum in Symboli colligitur brevitate perfecta, secundum illud Apostoli: Verbum, inquit, consummans et brevians in æquitate, quia verbum breviatum faciet Dominus super terram.

leading to a conviction that Cassian wrote "as if he had never seen" the Commentary of Rufinus, seems to indicate the exact contrary. Both authors give the Greek derivation for the name of the Creed, both explain it by the same Latin word "collatio;" both state that this "collatio" was made by the Apostles, as an index or law of the faith; and both cite the same text of Scripture as fulfilled by this abridgement of scriptural truth into the form of a symbol. It is admitted that Cassian had seen some part of Rufinus. Does not the close resemblance shew that he had seen this very passage?

The existence of a commentary by Rufinus is also testified to by Gennadius, a presbyter of Marseilles, about A.D. 495. That writer compiled a work on the ecclesiastical authors anterior to his time, and mentions Rufinus both as a translator of Greek works into Latin and as a writer on the Creed, and, according to most MSS.[1] of his work, states that his labours in the latter direction far surpassed those of any writer who had preceded him. But in order to support the hypothesis of the interpolation of Rufinus by a later hand, it is supposed, on the authority of one MS., that Gennadius has also been interpolated by the same person, "to add lustre to his performances" in enlarging Rufinus!

Much of the Commentary of Rufinus may also be found in a treatise on the Creed by Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poictiers, who died A.D. 609. Mr Ffoulkes maintains that the Commentary of Rufinus is an expansion of this treatise, but the editor of the works of Fortunatus

[1] Gennadius, *De Scriptor. Ecclesiast. liber.* cap. XVII. (Migne, LVIII. 1069). Rufinus Aquileiensis presbyter non minima pars fuit doctorum Ecclesiæ et in transferendo de Græco in Latinum elegans ingenium habuit.....proprio autem labore, imo gratia Dei et dono exposuit idem Rufinus Symbolum, ut in ejus comparatione alii non exposuisse credantur.

gives an account of the way in which this Commentary was made use of by that writer, which is far more natural than that there should have been interpolation upon interpolation to bring the work of Rufinus to its present form[1]. "Whoever," he says, "will compare this "exposition of the Creed with that which is extant in the "works of Rufinus, will easily see that this is an abridge-"ment thereof, and the offspring of the genius of Rufinus "rather than of Fortunatus. That which Rufinus had "written, Fortunatus after his advancement, as it seems, "to the bishopric of Poictiers, must be admitted to have "epitomized for the instruction of his people."

The testimony of these three writers, Cassian, Gennadius, and Fortunatus, covers more than one hundred and fifty years, commencing within fifty years of the death of Rufinus. If naturally interpreted it can leave no doubt that the work of Rufinus was in existence and well known through all that period. Cassian makes one quotation, Venantius a great number, from every portion of the Commentary, and Gennadius says no other work on the same subject was to be compared to it. This is exactly such a description as suits the work. It is elaborate and takes a wider range both of history and doctrine than such treatises were wont to do. Now if this Commentary of Rufinus were not put into its present form before the time of Isidore and the date of the fourth Council of Toledo, A.D. 633[2], we have to suppose that a brief work existed under the name of Rufinus, from which Cassian quoted, and which Gennadius knew: which work was expanded by Venantius (though he does not give the passage which

[1] See Migne, *Patr. Lat.* LXXXVIII. 345, note.

[2] See Ffoulkes, p. 59.

Cassian is admitted to have taken from Rufinus), and that this first expansion was further enlarged by St Isidore. We venture to predict that few will accept this complicated explanation of the composition of the Commentary in preference to the usual and plain one of admitting that Rufinus really wrote the work which we now have under his name.

Still more strange is the assertion made by Mr Ffoulkes, that the real work of Rufinus exists in the treatise of St Nicetas, which has been already alluded to. "Nobody," it is said, "could doubt on reading both works," (that is, Rufinus' Commentary and the *Explanatio Symboli* of St Nicetas) "that either St Nicetas borrowed from this Exposition, or "the author of this Exposition from Nicetas[1]." And again, "The true Rufinus lives in this work of an Aquileian "prelate, who may have been a child when he died." The writer would have it supposed that St Nicetas used the original work by Rufinus which in aftertimes was considerably enlarged, and that there is sufficient trace of Rufinus in the bishop's treatise to shew that this original work had been made use of. If this were true we should expect to find the passage which Cassian quoted from the admitted work of Rufinus, in this treatise of St Nicetas. But it does not occur, while the resemblance between the two works is so far from being apparent to ordinary observers that there is scarcely a line in one writer to which a parallel can be found in the other, and where a similarity does exist it is in the quotation of texts from Scripture or in other points where the identity of subject admits but of one mode of expression. That the two writers may be compared a portion of the comment on one article is placed side by side with what should be its parallel in St Nicetas.

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 41, 43.

The passages afford a fair specimen of the correctness of the statement that "the true Rufinus" lives in Nicetas.

Rufinus in *Symbolum*, § 9.

Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine. Hæc jam inter homines dispensationis nativitas est, illa divinæ substantiæ. Hæc dignationis est, illa naturæ. De Spiritu Sancto ex Virgine nascitur. Et jam in hoc loco mundior auditus requiritur et purior sensus. Huic enim, quem dudum de Patre natum ineffabiliter didicisti, nunc a Spiritu Sancto templum fabricatum intra secreta uteri virginalis intellige. Et sicut in sanctificatione Spiritus Sancti nulla sentienda est fragilitas, ita et in partu Virginis nulla intelligenda est corruptio. Novus enim huic sæculo datus est hic partus, nec immerito. Qui enim in cælis unicus Filius est, consequenter et in terra unicus est et unice nascitur.

Nota sunt omnibus et in Evangeliis decantata de hoc Scripta Prophetarum, quæ dicunt quod *Virgo concipiet et pariet filium.* Sed et partus ipsius mirabilem modum Ezechiel Propheta ante formaverat, Mariam figuraliter portam Domini nominans per quam scilicet Dominus ingressus est mundum. Dicit ergo hoc modo. *Porta autem quæ respicit ad orientem clausa erit, et non aperietur et nemo transibit per eam quoniam Dominus Deus Israel transibit per eam et clausa erit.* Quid tam evidens de conservatione Virginis dici poterat?

St Nicetas, *Explanatio Symboli* (Migne, LII. 868).

Natus ex Spiritu Sancto et Virgine Maria, sine ulla viri operatione, corpus ex corpore, Spiritus Sancti Virtute, generatum est; manens Deus, homo factus est, ut hominibus et visui et doctrinæ saluti esse posset: quia aliter divinitas ab hominibus sustineri non poterat, nisi corporis assumptione visibilis.

Natus ergo ex sancta et incontaminata Virgine ut sanctæ nativitatis nobis præstaret initium. Natus est secundum quod ante dictum fuerat per prophetam. *Ecce virgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen ejus Emanuel, quod est interpretatum, Nobiscum Deus.* Crede ergo hunc qui ex Virgine natus est, nobiscum esse Deum: Deum ante sæcula de Patre, hominem ex Virgine propter homines. Vere incarnatum, non putative, sicut quidam erronei hæretici erubescentes mysterium Dei in phantasmate dicunt factam Domini incarnationem: quia non vere fuerit quod videbatur, sed oculos fefellerit hominum. Quod absit omnino a Dei veritate. Si enim falsa incarnatio est, falsa erit et salus hominum. Quod si vere salus in Christo est, vera æque incarnatio est. In ipso utrumque existens, homo quod videbatur, Deus quod non videbatur. Manducans ut homo, et pascens quinque milia hominum quinque pani-

Clausa fuit ea virginitatis porta. Per ipsam intravit Dominus Deus Israel, per ipsam in hunc mundum de utero Virginis processit: et in æternum porta Virginis, servata Virginitate, permansit. Igitur Sanctus Spiritus refertus Dominicæ carnis et templi ejus creator. bus quia Deus. Dormiens ut homo in navi; sed ventis et mari imperans quia Deus. Manus cruci affigens velut homo, sed paradisum confitenti se latroni tribuens, quia Deus.

When the similarity between the two works from which these quotations are made is insisted on, while any similarity between the passages already cited from Rufinus and Cassian is denied[1], it is impossible to help agreeing with Bacon when he says "Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination[2]."

These modern objections against the genuineness of the Commentary of Rufinus have been examined in greater detail, because this work is almost the only direct testimony to the form of the Roman Creed at the end of the fourth century. We have indeed about 50 years later the fragment of the Creed of Rome as preserved in the letter of St Leo to Flavian, which has been[3] already quoted. And so far as it goes this agrees almost to the letter with the form which Rufinus has preserved to us. But though we have Creeds of Ravenna and Aquileia and Turin we do not possess, without this record, any complete memorial of the Symbol of the metropolis of the West at this date.

It is however very difficult to conceive that the dependent churches used expanded Symbols such as are preserved to us, and that no such form had come into use at Rome. When the sermons to catechumens in parts of Italy, in France, and in Africa, abundantly prove that for this purpose there existed longer forms elsewhere,

[1] Supra, p. 137. [2] Essay xxxix. [3] See p. 113.

we cannot, in spite of the want of direct Roman testimony to the fact, question the truth of Rufinus' statement.

The Creed which he has preserved to us is in extent nearly equal to the present Apostles' Creed. Its words are:

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty.
(2) And in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord.
(3) Who was born of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary.
(4) Was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried.
(5) The third day He rose again from the dead.
(6) He ascended into heaven: sitteth at the right hand of the Father.
(7) From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
(8) And in the Holy Ghost.
(9) The Holy Church.
(10) The forgiveness of Sins.
(11) The resurrection of the flesh[1].

This form is easily to be gathered from the headings of the several sections[2], and though the Commentary is on the Creed of Aquileia, the only additions which were made by that Church to the above, which Rufinus expressly calls the Roman form, are, as will have been already gathered, in the first Article the addition of the words "invisible and impassible"; in the fifth Article the

[1] Roman Creed according to Rufinus.

Rufinus in Symb. (Migne, xxi. 335 seqq.) Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum unicum Filium Ejus, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto Ex Maria Virgine, Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos; et in Spiritu Sancto, Sanctam Ecclesiam, Remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.

[2] Cf. the specimen given p. 141.

clause on the Descent into Hell; and in the eleventh the change of "the resurrection of the flesh" into "the resur-"rection of *this* flesh."

The Creeds which follow next in order of time are those which St Augustine has preserved to us as used in the church over which he presided in Northern Africa; but as in speaking of the Creed of Rufinus we have alluded to the Creeds of other Churches of Italy, it may be best, even though the order of time will be slightly broken, to mention at this point some of these Italian Symbols. Nor will the deviation be a great one, for the two Creeds which will be quoted were both set forth before A.D. 460.

The first of these is taken from the Sermons to Catechumens by Petrus Chrysologus, Archbishop of Ravenna, who died about A.D. 450. In his time Ravenna was almost equal in importance to Rome, and having been chosen by Honorius[1] as the capital of the Western Empire, continued to be so accounted for the next three centuries[2]. We may therefore be sure that the Creed of this Church represents fairly the creed of the Italian Churches at the date when it appears. This is the form of it.

(1) I believe in God the Father, Almighty.

(2) And in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord.

(3) Who was born from the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary.

(4) Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried.

[1] A.D. 404. [2] Gibbon, III. 72.

[2] CREED OF RAVENNA FROM PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS.

Pet. Chrysol. Sermones, 56—62 (Migne, LII. 354 seqq.) Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, qui sub

(5) The third day He rose again from the dead.

(6) He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father.

(7) From thence is to come to judge the quick and the dead.

(8) I believe in the Holy Ghost.

(9) The Holy [Catholic] Church.

(10) The Remission of Sins.

(11) The Resurrection of the Flesh.

(12) Everlasting life[1].

This form is easily gathered from the Six Sermons[2] on the Creed which the Archbishop has left, and its close agreement with what Rufinus has called the Roman Creed cannot fail to be noticed, and to add confirmation to his statements. The variations are only the accusative case used in the original in Article VIII.[3], and the addition of the twelfth article of "everlasting life," both which alterations we shall find in the Creeds of St Augustine anterior to the date of Chrysologus. In one of the Sermons[4] there also occurs in the ninth article the word "Catholic" added to "Holy Church," but as there is no allusion to that word in

Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Patris; Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam [Catholicam] et remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam æternam.

[1] *Serm.* LVII—LXII. (Migne, LII. 357 seqq.).

[2] CREED OF RAVENNA. *Petrus Chrysologus* (Migne, ut supra). Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cælos, sedet ad dexteram Patris; Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam [Catholicam] et remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam æternam.

[3] Where Rufinus has in Spiritu Sancto for in Spiritum Sanctum.

[4] *Serm.* LVII. (Migne, LII. 357).

the comment which follows the enunciation of the article, it is open to question whether the word was contained in the Creed of Ravenna. It will however have been observed that "Catholic" appears in the Creed of Aquileia as given by St Nicetas[1], by whom also it is expounded in the comment thus: "Know that this one Catholic Church "is established throughout the world, to whose commu- "nion thou shouldest firmly cling[2]." There can be no doubt therefore that this word was finding its way into the creeds of the Church about this time.

There are, as might be expected, when it is remembered how earnestly Chrysologus charged his hearers not to write down the words of the Creed[3], some few variations in the six copies of the Creed, but they are of so slight a nature[4] as to demonstrate that by the commencement of the fifth century much of the language of this Apostolic Creed had become fixed.

The second Italian Creed to be noticed is that of the Church of Turin, as found in the works of Maximus, Bishop of that see about the middle of the fifth century. Its agreement with the Roman Creed of Rufinus is even more close than that of the Creed of Ravenna[5]. It omits, as Rufinus does, the twelfth article of "the life "everlasting," and adds a comment which shews that

[1] Ante, p. 130.

[2] St Nicetas, *Explanatio Symboli* (Migne, LII. 867). Scito unam hanc esse ecclesiam Catholicam in omni orbe terræ constitutam, cujus communionem debes firmiter retinere.

[3] See ante, p. 2.

[4] These variations are in Article 5, where "from the dead," is omitted in four of the sermons: one copy read "sitteth *on* the right "hand," for "*at*" in Art. 6. With the exception of a conjunction added or omitted between the articles these are all the various readings which occur.

[5] The text is not given because it is word for word identical with the first Aquileian Creed given on p. 132, note 2.

these words had not yet been inserted in the Creed of Turin. "The resurrection of the flesh," he says[1], "is the "end of our religion, this is the concluding point of our "belief." When we find these copies of the Creed in churches so closely united with the see of Rome, and their agreement with that mentioned as the Roman Creed by Rufinus so complete as hardly in the latter example to exhibit one word of variation, there can be very little doubt of the truth of all which that writer has recorded of the Creed of the older Church of Rome, and that the form thereof had undergone very little change since the time when Marcellus put forth his profession to the Roman bishop.

After this digression we will revert to the chronological order, and set forth the Creeds of Northern Africa, as found in the writings of St Augustine. This distinguished Father was ordained a presbyter of the Church of Hippo Regius, A.D. 390, of which Church he was shortly after made bishop, and discharged the duties of his Episcopate for the long period of thirty-five years, dying A.D. 430. He left an immense quantity of writings, and many more works than he had written were assigned to him after his death. Among the monuments of his literary labours we have several works either treating directly of the Creed, or introducing it as the basis on which Christian preaching and exposition should be founded.

But from some of these it is not easy to gather the exact language of the Symbol. His dread lest the Creed if written out concisely should become divulged beyond the Christian society has been already[2] noticed, and fre-

[1] Maximus Taurinensis, *Hom.* LXXXIII. (Migne, LVII. 439). Carnis resurrectionem. Hic religionis nostræ finis, hæc summa credendi est.

[2] See pp. 3, 4.

quent allusions to this dread are scattered throughout his writings. Yet by a careful discrimination and by comparison of all the forms of Creed that occur in his acknowledged works, we can arrive at a great degree of certainty concerning the Symbol which was in general use in the Church of Hippo at the end of the fourth century, and we shall observe how nearly it coincides with the forms already exhibited as used in the Churches of Italy.

This close resemblance cannot surprise us. The intercourse between Italy and Africa, which had been commenced prior to the Christian era, continued to flourish when both countries had become subject to the faith. Tertullian testifies to the agreement of their churches in his day, and the Father whose works we are now about to cite, though born in Numidia, was baptized at Milan by St Ambrose.

It will be convenient to speak of his works in the order of their production. The earliest of those from which we have to quote is a treatise on the Creed. It was originally delivered as an address before the bishops assembled at the Council of Hippo Regius, A. D. 393, and was afterwards put into its present form at the request[1] of some intimate friends. In giving an account of it St Augustine mentions the circumstance which has already been noticed as forming our principal difficulty in gleaning the precise words of his Creed. "The dissertation is of such a form," he says, "that the combination of words which is given "to catechumens to commit to memory does not occur." By diligent sifting however the following form may be extracted from the several sections of this book, "De Fide "et Symbolo."

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty,

[1] St Augustine, *Retractationes*, I. 17.

(2) And in Jesus Christ our Lord the only begotten son of God the Father,

(3) Who was born through the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,

(4) Was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried.

(5) The third day he rose from the dead.

(6) He ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father.

(7) From thence he is to come and judge the quick and dead.

(8) In the Holy Ghost,

(9) The Holy Church,

(10) The Remission of Sins,

(11) The Resurrection of the Flesh[1].

A comparison of the original words will shew that this Creed is almost word for word identical with the forms of Rome, Ravenna, and Turin. The expression "only begotten," instead of "only," occurs in the second article, but even this slight variation is brought into harmony with the Italian forms by the explanation which the writer gives in his comment, "*unigenitum*," he says[2], "*id est, unicum.*"

Though this Creed consists but of eleven articles, an expression occurs near the close which shews that what we now account the twelfth article, "the life everlasting," was at this time, though not formally inserted in the Symbol; yet treated as a deduction from the article on

[1] Creed of St Augustine (earliest form). St Augustine, *De Fide et Symbolo* (Migne, XL. 181 seqq.). Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Et in Jesum Christum Filium Dei Patris Unigenitum, Dominum nostrum, Qui natus est per Spiritum Sanctum ex Virgine Maria, Sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus; Tertiâ die resurrexit a mortuis, In cælum ascendit, Sedet ad dexteram Patris, Inde venturus et judicaturus vivos et mortuos, In Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam, Remissionem peccatorum, Carnis resurrectionem.

[2] § 3.

the resurrection. "And when," he adds, "this resurrection "of the body has taken place, being set free from the "circumstance of time, we shall enjoy *eternal life* with "unutterable love and security without decay[1]." A still more definite statement will be found in a later form of the Symbol of Augustine, but we cannot on the whole conclude that the twelfth article was generally received in his time.

Not far removed in date from the "De Fide et Sym-"bolo," is a work on the book of Genesis[2], in the first chapter of which the substance of the Creed is given as an introduction to the treatise. Here we find the same epithet "only begotten" in the second article, but in the third the prepositions are changed, and instead of "*through* the Holy Ghost *from* the Virgin Mary," we read "*of* the Holy Ghost *and* the Virgin Mary." In all other points, so far as it extends, this Creed agrees with the former, and the close connection between the two final clauses of the last sentence suggests, as we have just observed, the addition of the "life everlasting" as an article of the Creed. It stands thus: "*The Holy Ghost* is given to those who "believe in Him: there is established by Him the mother "*Church*, which is called Catholic because she is wholly "perfect, and halts in nothing, and is spread through the "whole world: former *sins are forgiven* to the penitent, "and *eternal life* and the kingdom of heaven is promised[3]."

[1] Qua corporis resurrectione facta a temporis conditione liberati æterna vita ineffabili charitate atque stabilitate sine corruptione perfruemur.

[2] De Genesi ad literam. Imperfectus liber.

[3] The whole passage, "De Genesi," cap. I., is printed for convenience of comparison in the Appendix to this Chapter, where the reader may observe how the words of the Symbol are collected from the substance of the treatise.

From which passage we have just as much evidence in favour of the twelfth as of the eleventh article of the Creed.

But as the whole chapter bears more of the character of a paraphrase of the Creed than a recital of its exact words, we are hardly justified in concluding from this work that "the life everlasting" was an article in the Creed of St Augustine. The form in which it is here introduced should however be noticed, as we shall meet with further evidence on this point shortly. It is also worthy of observation that in this work we meet for the first time[1] with the word "Catholic" in the definition of the Church. It is not yet an integral part of the Creed, nor shall we find it become so for a century and a half, but its occurrence here is a good example of the process of accretion by which the Apostolic Creed has been built up. First a clause or expression is used as an illustration or explanation; if apposite, it is soon widely adopted, and in the end inserted as a portion of the accepted language of the Symbol.

In the "De Genesi" the Creed is prefixed by St Augustine as an introduction to his treatise, in his "Enchiridion" he makes it the foundation on which a large portion of his work is raised. This work, whose full title is "Enchiridion de Fide Spe et Charitate," was written within the last ten years of the author's life, and is an answer to the questions of Laurentius, the brother of that Dulcitius for whose edification the author wrote his book "De Octo Dulcitii Quæstionibus." At the outset St Augustine says that in a work on faith hope and charity no better foundation can be chosen on which to frame his book than the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. "For," says he, "faith believes, hope and charity pray[2]." Through a great part of the work he treats on what is to

[1] For Nicetas was later in date than Augustine.

[2] *Ench.* c. VI.

be believed, and intersperses the Articles[1] of the Creed in such a manner that the form of most of them may be easily traced.

It is to be noticed in this form that the word "only" has won its way to acceptance, and stands as it does to this day, a part of the language of the Symbol, while "only begotten" has fallen into the place of the comment. In every other particular the Creed of the Enchiridion agrees with one or other of the two previous forms down to the end of the eleventh Article. In expounding that Article the writer says, "Now concern-"ing the resurrection of the flesh, not as some have come "back to life and have again died, but to *eternal life*, as "the flesh of Christ himself arose, how I may briefly treat "and solve such questions as are wont to be broached, I "find not;" a sentence which seems to indicate that the twelfth Article did not form part of this the latest form of the Creed on which St Augustine treated.

From the Sermon on the Creed delivered to the Catechumens we can see how this last Article made its way into the Creed. In this discourse the Creed corresponds in all but the last Article very closely with that of the Enchiridion[2], only introducing the word "passus," *suffered*, into the fourth Article, and thus rendering that clause of the exact form which we now use; and omitting "the third day" after "rose again" in the fifth Article. But in the exposition of the eleventh Article these

[1] The passages containing the words of the Creed are given in the Appendix, p. 180.

[2] St Augustine, *Sermo ad Catechumenos* (Migne, xl. 627 seqq.).

Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Et in Filium Ejus unicum Dominum nostrum, Natus de Spiritu Sancto et Virgine Maria, *Passus* sub Pontio Pilato, Crucifixus mortuus et Sepultus, Resurrexit, Ascendit in cœlum, Sedet ad dexteram Patris, Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos, Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam, Remissionem Peccatorum, Resurrectionem Carnis, In Vitam æternam.

words occur: "How do we believe the resurrection of the "flesh? Lest any should chance to think that it is in like "manner as Lazarus; that you may know that it is not so, "there is added 'Into eternal life[1].'" So then we see that the clause which ultimately formed the twelfth Article was thus wrought into the Symbol as the explanation of the preceding sentence, from which, in lapse of time it became separated and was erected into an independent article; a mode of introduction which we have alluded to before, and to which "passus" above mentioned is no doubt due.

In addition to the above cited forms of Creed which occur in the works of St Augustine, four sermons "De Symbolo" are accepted by the Benedictine editors as genuine works of the Bishop of Hippo. These are numbered CCXII—CCXV. In these forms, which will be given *in extenso*, it will be observed that there is a great general agreement in all the Articles to the end of the eighth. There is a literal concord in the first Article, and in the second merely the variation of "only begotten" for "only," which has been seen to occur in the previous forms. In the next Article one form gives us the words "He was conceived," which are here met with for the first time. Three out of the four introduce "suffered" into the fourth sentence, and where this word is omitted in the text it yet occurs in the comment, so that it may be considered to have made good its footing in the Symbol before the death of St Augustine. From the fifth to the eighth Article the forms substantially agree, though a comparison of the Latin texts will shew verbal variations. After this point however the variations are considerable, and will be best noted in detail after the forms have been set side by side.

[1] St Aug. *Sermo ad Catechumenos*, § 17: Quo modo carnis resurrectionem? Ne forte putet aliquis quomodo Lazari, ut scias non sic esse, additum est, in vitam æternam.

Sermon CCXII.[1]

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty,

(2) And in the only begotten Son of God,

(3) Who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,

(4) Suffered under Pontius Pilate,

Was crucified dead and buried;

(5) The third day he rose again;

(6) He ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father,

(7) Is to come to judge the quick and the dead:

(8) And in the Holy Ghost.

Sermon CCXIII.

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty,

(2) And in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord,

(3) Who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born from the Virgin Mary,

(4) Suffered under Pontius Pilate,

Was crucified dead and buried;

(5) The third day he rose again from the dead;

(6) He ascended into Heaven,

Sitteth at the right hand of the Father:

(7) From thence will come and judge the quick and dead:

(8) And in the Holy Ghost,

(9) The Holy Church,

(10) The remission of Sins,

(11) The resurrection of the flesh.

[1] CREEDS OF ST AUGUSTINE.

Sermo CCXII.

Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Et in Dei Filium unigenitum, Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine, Passus est sub Pontio Pilato, Crucifixus est mortuus et sepultus, Die tertio resurrexit, Ascendit in cœlum, Sedet ad dexteram Patris, Venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos: In Spiritum Sanctum.

Sermo CCXIII.

Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum, Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Virgine Maria, Passus est sub Pontio Pilato, Crucifixus mortuus et sepultus. Tertiâ die resurrexit a mortuis, Ascendit in cœlum, Sedet ad dexteram Patris, Inde venturus judicaturus vivos et mortuos: Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam, Remissionem Peccatorum, Carnis resurrectionem.

Sermon CCXIV.

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty,

(2) And in Jesus Christ our Lord the only Son of God the Father,

(3) Who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,

(4) Suffered under Pontius Pilate,

Was crucified and buried,

(5) The third day he rose again;

(6) He ascended into heaven,

Sitteth at the right hand of the Father;

(7) He is about to come to judge the quick and the dead:

(8) And in the Holy Ghost,

(9) The Holy Church,

(10) The Forgiveness of Sins.

Sermo CCXIV.

Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Et in Jesum Christum Filium Dei Patris unicum Dominum nostrum, Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Virgine Maria, Passus est sub Pontio Pilato, Crucifixus et sepultus, Die tertio resurrexit, Ascendit in Cœlum, Sedet ad dexteram Patris, Ad judicandos vivos mortuosque venturus est: In Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam, Remissionem peccatorum.

Sermon CCXV.

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty,

(2) And in Jesus Christ his Son our Lord,

(3) Who was born of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary,

(4) Was crucified dead and buried under Pontius Pilate,

(5) On the third day he rose from the dead;

(6) He ascended into heaven,

Sitteth at the right hand of God the Father;

(7) From thence he will come to judge the quick and the dead:

(8) And in the Holy Ghost,

(10) The forgiveness of sins,

(11) The Resurrection of the flesh,

(12) The life everlasting,

(9) Through the Holy Church.

Sermo CCXV.

Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Et in Filium ejus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, Sub Pontio Pilato Crucifixus mortuus et sepultus est, Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, Ascendit ad cœlos, Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris, Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos: Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Remissionem peccatorum, Carnis Resurrectionem, Vitam Æternam Per Sanctam Ecclesiam.

The first of these Creeds (CCXII.) ends, as far as the Articles are concerned, with the eighth, though somewhat of the substance of the tenth and eleventh may be gathered from the concluding words of the Sermon, "From this "faith," the writer continues, as though the "fides" were completed in the eight Articles already given, "hope for "grace whereby all your sins shall be forgiven. For from "hence 'ye shall be saved, not of yourselves; for it is the "'gift of God.' Also after this death, which has passed "upon all men, which is due of old to the first man, hope "even at last for the resurrection of your bodies[1]." In which conclusion there is a singular omission of any allusion to the Church.

The next sermon (CCXIII.) contains the three Articles IX. X. XI. as they occur in our Creed at present, but its language is most decided on the termination of the Creed with the Eleventh Article. Having mentioned "the "Resurrection of the flesh," the preacher says, "that is "now the end, but the resurrection of the flesh is an end "without end, but there will be afterwards no death of "the flesh, no anguish of the flesh, no hunger and thirst "of the flesh, no afflictions of the flesh, no old age and "weariness of the flesh. Do not therefore dread the "resurrection of the flesh. Behold its blessings, forget "its ills. Furthermore, whatever bodily complainings exist "now, will not be there; *we shall be eternal*, equal to the "angels of God[2]." Where the twelfth Article is shadowed

[1] Ex hac fide gratiam sperate in qua vobis *peccata omnia dimittentur.* Hinc enim salvi eritis, non ex vobis; Dei enim donum est. Post hanc etiam mortem, quæ in omnes pertransit, quæ vetustati primi hominis debetur, sperate etiam in fine *vestrorum corporum resurrectionem.*

[2] Iste jam finis est, sed finis sine fine erit resurrectio carnis, sed erit postea nulla mors carnis, nullæ angustiæ carnis, nulla fames et sitis carnis, nullæ afflictiones carnis, nulla senectus et lassitudo carnis.

forth in the concluding sentence, but had not yet assumed even the form of an expansion of the previous Article, as we have seen it in the *Sermo ad catechumenos.*

In the third sermon (CCXIV.) the eleventh Article can scarcely be said to be included except by implication. A portion of its concluding language is[1], "Nor ought we to "doubt concerning that *mortal flesh that it will rise again* "at the end of the world:" and in another clause, "Or "how shall we doubt that He will give *eternal life* to our "soul and flesh, who for us both took on Him a life and "flesh wherein to die, and laid them down when He died, "and took them again that death might not be feared:" a form of introduction differing entirely from that wherein the previous Articles are put forward.

By the conclusion of the fourth sermon (CCXV.) we are reminded of the earlier African Creed of St Cyprian[2]. After mentioning the Holy Ghost it continues thus: "Through Him we receive *remission of sins*, through Him "we believe the *resurrection of the flesh*, through Him we "hope for *eternal life.*" And after a few sentences, "Be- "hold how even in the very words of the Holy Symbol "there is added to the conclusion of all the rules which "belong to the 'Sacrament of Faith[3]' as it were a supple- "ment in the expression 'through the Holy Church.' "Avoid therefore, as much as you are able, the different

Noli ergo horrere carnis resurrectionem. Bona ejus vide, mala oblivisce. Prorsus quidquid querelarum est carnalium modo, tunc ibi non erit: *æterni erimus* æquales Angelis Dei.

[1] Nec *de ista carne mortali quod resurrectura sit* in sæculi fine dubitare debemus....Aut quomodo dubitabimus quod animæ et carni nostræ *vitam* daturus sit *æternam* qui pro nobis animam et carnem et suscepit in qua moreretur et posuit cum moreretur, et recepit, ne mors timeretur.

[2] See p. 18.

[3] On this expression see before, p. 2.

"and various deceivers whose sects and names, owing "to their multitude, it is long to mention now. For "we have many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear "them now. One thing I commend to your prayers, that "from him who is not a Catholic ye may turn away "by every means your attention and ears, that ye may "be able to apprehend the *remission of sins, and the "resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life through one "Holy Catholic Church*, in which we are taught concerning "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as one God[1]."

This termination, though it may have been a form in use in the African Churches after the model of the Carthaginian Creed of St Cyprian, differs entirely from any of those found in the rest of St Augustine's works. If then we take the Creed given in the "De Fide et Symbolo" as the earliest form commented on by St Augustine, and the language of the "Enchiridion" as his latest exposition, ranging the other forms between the dates of these two, we may sum up the results of our investigation thus. The form of the first Article was invariable, while in the second the variation which occurs is in the words "only "begotten" and "only," the latter of which has, by the

[1] *Sermo* CCXV. Per Ipsum accipimus peccatorum remissionem, per Ipsum resurrectionem credimus carnis, per Ipsum vitam speramus æternam.....Videte certe, charissimi etiam in ipsis sancti symboli verbis quomodo conclusioni omnium regularum quæ ad Sacramentum fidei pertinent quasi supplementum quoddam additum, ut diceretur *per Sanctam Ecclesiam*. Fugite ergo quantum potestis diversos et varios deceptores, quorum sectas et nomina præ multitudine sua, nunc longum est enarrare. Multa enim habemus dicere vobis sed non potestis illa portare modo. Unum vestris precibus commendo, ut ab eo qui catholicus non est animum et auditum vestrum omnimodis avertatis quo *remissionem peccatorum*, et *resurrectionem carnis* et *vitam æternam per* unam veram *sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam* apprehendere valeatis in qua discitur Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus unus Deus.

end of Augustine's life, become the accepted term. In the third Article "conceived" and in the fourth "suffered" were making their way from comment into the text, and occur as a part of the text, the former in one, the latter in two of St Augustine's symbols. About the word "dead" in the fourth Article there is more doubt. The next four Articles are in effect the same in all the Creeds of this Father. Among the remaining four there appears to have been much less fixity, and we cannot find the twelfth Article in any one of the copies except the last, unless it be as a deduction from or explanation of the eleventh. The arrangement of the last-quoted form may be due to some influence such as the traditional form of St Cyprian, and its occurrence is worthy of note as it shews the concluding Articles in a state of solution, which by the time of the writing of the Enchiridion had become settled into the now accepted order, so far as St Augustine was concerned, only that the twelfth Article was not yet separated, but appended as a consequence of the one before it. We shall find however that for some time after the age of St Augustine the arrangement which places "the Holy "Church" as the final Article prevailed in Northern Africa.

As we have already noticed there were many sermons included in early times among the writings of the Bishop of Hippo which modern criticism has demonstrated to be of a somewhat later date, and in some of these the arrangement which makes the Article on the Church the final clause of the Creed occurs. Out of these works wrongly assigned to this Father three Sermons[1] bear indications of the time at which they were composed, for they contain expressions of a very strong character against the Arians. Now the Vandal persecution in North Africa, which called

[1] *Sermones de Symbolo ad Catechumenos* (Migne, XL. 637 seqq.).

forth the language alluded to, prevailed[1] from about A.D. 428—488, and was at an end when the Vandal power was overthrown by Justinian's general Belisarius, A.D. 534. The expressions in the sermons are such as would be most likely to be used when the contest was at its height. In the first, for example, we read, "Let not the Arian heretic "insult the Church. He is a wolf, be aware of him: he is a "serpent, crush his head. He flatters but cheats, he makes "many promises but deceives[2]." And in the third "O "Arian heresy, why insultest thou? Why sendest thou forth "such blasts? Why engrossest thou for a time so largely? "Thy lady suffers insult from thee her servant, thou heapest "many taunts upon her; yet though she grieve, the "Holy Catholic Spouse of Christ hath no great fear of "thee[3]." If we place the date of these Sermons in the last twenty years of the fifth century we shall not be far from the truth. And out of them we gather a form of Creed agreeing with the last quoted from St Augustine in the order of the final Articles, but giving some evidence that the twelfth Article was becoming an independent clause. The most complete form occurs in the first of the three sermons, and reads thus:

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty.
(2) And in his Son Jesus Christ,
(3) Born of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary.
(4) Crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried.

[1] See Robertson's *Christian Church*, p. 391.

[2] *Serm.* I. XIII. § 24. Hæreticus Arianus non insultet ecclesiæ. Lupus est, agnoscite; serpens est, ejus capita conquassate, Blanditur, sed fallit: multa promittit sed decipit.

[3] *Serm.* III. XIII. 13. O hæresis Ariana quid insultas? quid exsufflas? quid etiam ad tempus multa usurpas? Injuriam a te patitur domina ab ancilla, multas ei ingeris contumelias; licet hæc doleat non te magno metuit sponsa Christi Sancta Catholica.

(5) The third day he rose again from the dead.
(6) Was taken up into Heaven.
Sitteth at the right hand of the Father.
(7) Will come to judge the quick and dead.
(8) And in the Holy Ghost.
(10) The remission of all sins.
(11) In the resurrection of the flesh.
(12) In eternal life.
(9) The Holy Church[1].

All the three Sermons speak most positively of the order of the final clauses of the Creed. After the Article on the Holy Ghost the first says: "Do not defraud him "who has made thee, that thou mayest obtain from him "what comes next in the holy Symbol, Remission of all "sins[2];" and on the Church as the final Article, the third says: "On this account the conclusion of this Sacrament "is marked by 'the Holy Church,' since if any be found "without her, he will be alien from the number of sons,

[1] PSEUDO-AUGUSTINIAN CREED. *Sermo de Symbolo ad Catechumenos.* Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in Filium Ejus Jesum Christum, natum de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato et sepultum. Tertiâ die a mortuis resurrexit, assumptus in cælos, sedet ad dexteram Patris. Venturus vivos et mortuos judicare. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Remissionem omnium peccatorum. In carnis resurrectionem, in vitam æternam; Sanctam Ecclesiam.

It should be noticed that "assumptus" is explained by "ascendit" in the course of this sermon.

The Creed in the second sermon omits several words of the text in the first, viz.: the preposition in Art. II.; "de Spiritu Sancto" in III.; adds "Dei" before "Patris" in VI.; omits "omnium" in X., the preposition in XI.; reads "in vitâ æternâ" in XII.; and omits "sanctam" in the final clause. The words of the Creed cannot be gathered with any certainty from the third sermon, but, like the second, it omits "de Spiritu Sancto" in III.

[2] *Serm.* I. IX. 21. Noli injuriam facere illi qui fecit te, ut consequaris ab illo, quod in isto Sancto Symbolo sequitur: remissionem omnium peccatorum.

"and will not have God for a Father, who would have the "Church as a Mother, and it will avail him naught that "he has believed or done so much good without the "climax of the chief good[1]." And there are similar expressions in the other two.

Little need be said of the other variations, "was taken "up" for "ascended," as the latter word occurs in the explanation: or of "Remission of *all* sins," since the omission of the adjective in the second sermon makes it doubtful whether it should be taken as a part of the Article in the first. The addition however of "God" before "Father" in the sixth Article of the second form is to be remarked as the first step towards the fuller addition, which brought that Article to its present form, and this Creed is the first in which any part of that addition is found.

It is also right to note a passage in the exposition of the fifth Article in the third of these treatises, because it is the earliest trace which we find anywhere, except in the Creed of Aquileia, of an extension of that Article into the form it has now assumed. In a long comparison of Christ with the prophet Jonah, the writer remarks: "The prophet was swallowed by the beast to "be guarded, not to be eaten. Here listen to the voice "of Christ himself speaking through holy David, 'Thou "'wilt not leave my soul in hell, nor give thy Holy One "'to see corruption.' Holy Jonah in the belly of the sea "monster prayed: *in Hell Christ by his descent* aroused "the dead[2]." A sentence which the Pseudo-Augustinian

[1] *Serm.* III. *ad fin.* Propterea hujus conclusio Sacramenti per Sanctam Ecclesiam terminatur quoniam si quis absque ea inventus fuerit, alienus erit a numero filiorum, nec habebit Deum Patrem, qui Ecclesiam voluerit habere matrem: nihilque ei valebit quod credidit vel fecit tanta bona sine fine summi boni.

[2] *Serm.* III. Susceptus est a bestia Propheta custodiendus non comedendus. Audi hic ipsius vocem Christi per sanctum David: Non derelinques animam meam apud inferos nec dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem (Ps. xv. 10). In ventre bestiæ marinæ positus Jonas sanctus oravit: in inferno Christus descendens mortuos suscitavit.

discourse, which is next to be noticed, expands, as we shall see, by a great development.

Among the works on the Creed wrongly assigned to St Augustine is the sermon generally known as the 181st, "*de Tempore*." Of this the Benedictine editors say, "It is a "compilation from Rufinus, Cæsarius, Gregory and Ivo "Carnotensis, and contains also in disjointed sections the "whole of the 242nd Sermon of St Augustine." Its Creed is of a very late form, and to establish this point we need do no more than quote one portion of the exposition. In chap. VII. we find "He descended into hell that "he might free Adam the firstmade man and the Patri-"archs and Prophets, and all the just ones who were there "detained for original sin, and recall them, acquitted from "the bondage of sin, redeemed by his blood from the cap-"tivity and the place of hell, to the heavenly country and "to the joys of everlasting life[1]."

There are further Six Sermons[2] on the Creed among the Pseudo-Augustinian works which call for a slight notice. Of these the first three are evidently one discourse broken up into parts. The first section (now called Sermon CCXXXVII.) treats of God the Father, the next of the Son, and the third of the Holy Ghost; which last commences thus: "We are proceeding, most beloved

[1] *Serm. de Symbolo* (alias 181. *De Tempore*), Migne XL. 1190. Descendit ad inferna ut Adam protoplastum et Patriarchas et Prophetas, omnesque justos qui pro originali peccato ibidem detinebantur liberaret, et ut de vinculis peccati, de eadem captivitate et inferni loco suo sanguine redemptos ad supernam patriam et ad perpetuæ vitæ gaudia revocaret.

[2] CCXXXVII.—CCXLII.

"brethren, to complete with God's help the order of the "Creed, wherein are contained the Sacraments of all our "Faith[1]." From a combination of the three we may collect in substance the first eight Articles of Augustine's Creed, though the exact language thereof does not occur. The last four articles of that Creed have no place in these sermons, nor is there any mention of the "descent "into hell."

The next two sermons[2] not only give our present form of the Apostles' Creed in full, but assign to each Apostle an Article. The apportionment is however not the same in both sermons, only five Articles (1, 3, 10, 11, 12) being given to the same authors in the two works. The first of these sermons says of the descent into hell: "He "descended into hell, that is, in his soul accompanying his "Divinity, his body however remaining in the tomb." The second contains little or no comment on any of the Articles.

The last sermon[3] of the six gives at its outset the Creed at full length, and this only differs from the form now received in the eleventh Article, where it reads "*hujus* "carnis resurrectionem," just as does the Creed of Aquileia which Rufinus gives. There is nothing worthy of observation in the explanation of the Articles, except that in the recapitulation of them as they are separately commented upon, the "Descendit ad inferna" is omitted, though in the comment on "Tertiâ die resurrexit," we read: "The three days' delay in the grave evidently shews "that while his body lay in the tomb, the soul triumphed

[1] *Sermo* CCXXXIX. Ordinem Symboli, fratres dilectissimi, in quo totius fidei nostræ Sacramenta consistunt, nos, adjuvante Deo, perseveramus absolvere.

[2] CCXL., CCXLI. (alias *De Symbolo*, IV. and V.)

[3] CCXLII. (alias *De Symbolo*, VI.)

"over hell[1]." The fact of the Creed being given *in extenso* is of itself enough to prove that the last three treatises are not writings of Augustine. Beside which all the six Sermons last mentioned are much more brief than any of that Father's discourses on the Creed, and differ from his works in numerous parts of the explanations.

Before leaving the examination of the Symbols of the Churches of Northern Africa, from whence, more than from any other quarter, we can gather information of the gradual increase of the Apostolic Creed, there seems to be a proper opportunity for introducing the longer Creed of Facundus Hermianensis, to which allusion has been previously[2] made. The value of this Creed in our enquiry is that it can be proved to have existed side by side with the shorter baptismal form before quoted. And what was a fact at Hermiane may without violence be supposed to have been so at Rome.

The Creed of Facundus is not left to us in full, but enough of it is recorded to shew that it was in some respects very like the Creeds of St Augustine. Its peculiarity consists in the insertion of the word "one," after the fashion of Eastern Symbols, in both the first and second Articles. It is also expressed in the plural number. From which we may see that the Creed of the first Council, which was received into the African Code as Canon CXXXVII., had, in some points[3], modified the Creeds of the African Churches.

The following fragment is what is preserved to us of this longer Symbol:

(1) We believe in one God the Father Almighty,

[1] *Serm.* CCXLII. Triduana sepulturæ mora evidenter ostendit quod, dum corpus in sepulcro jacuit, anima illa de infernis triumphavit.

[2] See p. 121.] [3] On this see Ffoulkes on the *Athan. Creed*, p. 141.

(2) And in one Lord Jesus Christ His Son,

(3) Born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary;

(4) Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried;

(5) The third day he arose from the dead.

(6) He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father,

(7) Whence he will come to judge the quick and the dead[1]: *and so forth.*

The next additions to the Apostolic Symbol which are to be noticed occur in a Creed of which the date unfortunately cannot be accurately determined. It is gathered from two Sermons usually ascribed to Eusebius, distinguished as Gallus or Gallicanus. Oudinus however assigns[2] them to Faustus Rhegiensis, who died at the close of the fifth century. The character of the additions seems to favour a later date than this, and the work may perhaps with greater probability be assigned to about A.D. 550. The most noticeable portion of the enlargement occurs in the ninth Article, where for the first time we find "The Communion of Saints" introduced, and also that "Catholic" has become an established part of the text of the same Article. We have noticed this latter addition in two previous forms, those of Chrysologus and Nicetas. In the former the word was very doubtful, as although it is found in the text of one

[1] LONGER CREED OF FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS. Fac. Herm. *Ep. Fid. Cath. in defens. trium Capitul.* (Migne, LXVII. 870.)

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, filium Ejus, natum ex Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine: qui sub. Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus, tertiâ die surrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris, unde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos: *et reliqua.*

[2] *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccl. Antiquis*, I. 389 seqq.

of the six sermons which the Archbishop of Ravenna has left on this subject, there is no notice of it in the comment, nor is it mentioned in any of the other five, the great similarity among which inclines us to believe that the word, in the one sermon in which it is found, must be considered an interpolation. In Nicetas the occurrence of the epithet is undoubted.

This Eusebian Creed also adds to the third Article the words "who was conceived." This addition has been noticed in one of the Pseudo-Augustinian forms, but no certain date can be assigned to the sermon in which it occurs. The sixth Article is enlarged in the Creed of Eusebius to the form in which we now use it. The latter clause therein, which has been hitherto "Sitteth at the "right hand of the Father," is altered to "Sitteth at the "right hand of God the Father Almighty," apparently to bring the expression into conformity with the epithets used of the first Person of the Trinity in the first Article. There is also an omission of the word "only" in Article II., and also of the familiar clause in Article IV., "suffered "under Pontius Pilate."

This Eusebian Creed is therefore of the following form:

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty;

(2) And in Jesus Christ His Son our Lord,

(3) Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,

(4) Was crucified dead and buried;

(5) The third day he rose again,

(6) Ascended into heaven: sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.

(7) From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

(8) I believe in the Holy Ghost:

(9) The Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints:

(10) The forgiveness of Sins:

(11) The resurrection of the body:

(12) Life everlasting[1].

The date which has been assigned to this Eusebian Creed is nearly the same with that of Venantius Fortunatus, to whom allusion has been made before. He was a native of the north of Italy, but about A. D. 560 went into France, was ordained, and eventually became Bishop of Poictiers. His literary labours took the direction of the Creeds, and there are found among the works ascribed to him commentaries on both the Apostolic and Athanasian Creeds. The latter work is most probably not his composition, and the former is, as we have said, a compendium of the larger work of Rufinus. From it the following form can be extracted, and has certain peculiarities which make it worthy of notice.

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty,

(2) And in Jesus Christ his only Son,

(3) Who was born of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary,

(4) Crucified under Pontius Pilate,

(5) Descended in hell, rose again the third day,

(6) Ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father,

[1] Creed ascribed to Eusebius Gallus (550 A.D.?). Euseb. Gall. *Serm.* (*Bibl. Patr. Colon.* Tom. v. pt. 3, p. 554, quoted in Heurtley, p. 59).

Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in Filium Ejus, Jesum Christum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus; tertia die resurrexit, ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, Sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam æternam.

(7) Will judge both quick and dead.

(8) I believe in the Holy Ghost,

(9) Holy Church,

(10) Remission of Sins,

(11) Resurrection of the body[1].

It bears traces of being drawn from Rufinus, for, like his Creed, it has the clause, "he descended into hell," as part of Article V., and also follows his text in writing in Article VIII., *In Spiritu sancto.* No doubt also the shorter form of Articles II., IV., and VII., is owing to the earlier source from which it was drawn by Venantius. The twelfth Article of the Aquileian Creed is omitted as being peculiar rather to Eastern than Western Symbols.

The Oriental influence which produced the variations lately noticed in the longer Creed of Facundus of Hermiane, was not of such force as to cause them to be lasting. But a similar influence, which doubtless had existed in Gaul from the time of St Irenæus, was sufficiently powerful to introduce in the seventh century the last variation which we have to notice in the words of the Apostolical Symbol. This is the addition of the words, "Maker of Heaven and Earth," to the first Article. This clause, as has been shewn, was of very early introduction into Eastern Creeds, to oppose the peculiar views entertained by Oriental philosophers on the innate corruption of matter. No doubt the phrase was inserted in the Western Creed to bring the two sections of the Christian

[1] Creed of Venantius Fortunatus A.D. 570.

Venant. Fort. (Expos. Symb.) Migne (LXXXVIII. 345 seq.). Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum unicum Filium, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine: crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato descendit ad infernum: tertia die resurrexit, ascendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris: judicaturus vivos et mortuos. Credo in Sancto Spiritu, Sanctam Ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, resurrectionem carnis.

world into greater outward accord in their forms of confession. We find it first in a Sacramentary quoted by Mabillon[1].

But though the form in which it occurs gives us for the first time these words which complete the composition of the Apostles' Creed as now received, in its second Article this Gallic Symbol differs considerably both by addition and omission from our present Creed. Its words are:

(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.

(2) I believe in Jesus Christ his only-begotten eternal Son,

(3) Conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,

(4) Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried,

(5) Descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead,

(6) Ascended into heaven, sat at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.

(7) From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead:

(8) I believe in the Holy Ghost,

(9) The Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints,

(10) The forgiveness of sins,

(11) The resurrection of the body,

(12) Life everlasting[2].

[1] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Tom. I. pt. 2. p. 312.

[2] CREED OF THE SACRAMENTARIUM GALLICANUM, A.D. 650. (Codex Bobiensis, Mabillon, ut supra). Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem Creatorem cæli et terræ: Credo in Jesum Christum Filium Ejus unigenitum sempiternum: conceptum de Spiritu Sancto natum ex Maria Virgine: passum sub Pontio Pilato crucifixum, mortuum et sepultum: descendit ad inferna: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis; ascendit ad cœlos: sedit ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis: Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, Sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam æternam.

A precisely similar Creed is published by Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, p. 339, drawn from a Sacramentary of the eighth century. It seems therefore to have been a prevailing form at that time in the Gallican church.

It will be observed from the above Symbol that the descent into hell has been by this time incorporated into the Western Creed. Hitherto we have only seen it in two Creeds, that of Aquileia and the form which Fortunatus derived from it. Henceforth the clause is always found as a constituent portion of the fifth Article.

We have thus passed in review a series of Creeds of the Western Church, and have found, partly in one and partly in another, each clause of the Apostolic Creed as at present received. We have however to advance a century farther before we find a form which in its entirety coincides with what we now use. The exact words first occur in the Creed given by Pirminius[1], a bishop who laboured in France and Germany about the middle of the eighth century. This date, A.D. 750, may therefore be assigned to the first appearance of the Apostolic Creed in its present form[2]. It is set forth by Pirminius as used in the

[1] The work of Pirminius in which the Creed occurs is entitled "Libellus Pirminii de singulis libris Canonicis, Scarapsus." The last word has been variously explained. Fabricius interprets it by "collectus" hoc est "ex universo codice collectus." Dr Heurtley suggests that it is a misreading for "scriptus." The former of these explanations is probably correct. *Scara* is the mediæval Latin word for a troop, and *scaro* is said to mean "to enrol." It is probably a Latinized form of the German *schaar*, and hence the word in Pirminius' title may be derived in the sense of a *gathering* or *collection*.

[2] A copy to which an earlier date has been assigned by some authorities occurs in the Utrecht Psalter. This MS. is assigned by Sir

Baptismal Service. The complete text is given below[1], but it is unnecessary to give the Creed in an English version. It is worthy of notice that the Creed of Pirminius is given in his work first with the name of an apostle assigned to each Article, exactly as is the case in the two sermons falsely ascribed to St Augustine [CCXL. CCXLI.][2], in which alone among the pseudo-Augustinian writings the full Creed occurs. This observation may help to guide us to the probable date of such spurious writings.

From our examination it appears that in the Western Church the Creed used for the first 250 years of the Christian era was of a very short and simple form, and that such primitive brief forms continued to be employed in many churches at Baptism, even when a longer form had come into use for the purposes of catechizing and instruction. It was in the two hundred years extending from A.D. 250 to A.D. 450 that the Apostolic Creed received its greatest additions, and these are found almost contemporaneously in the Creeds of Rome, of all the Churches of Northern

Thomas D. Hardy to the sixth century, while others place it two centuries later. The dispute is so technical, and the date as yet so little certain, that it would be premature to make use of this Psalter as evidence of an earlier date of the complete Apostolic Creed than that of Pirminius, and it is very strange if this Psalter be of the sixth century that we find nowhere else before Pirminius the full Apostolic Creed.

[1] CREED OF PIRMINIUS A.D. 750. Pirminii Scarapsus, Migne (LXXXIX. 1035). Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem Creatorem cæli et terræ; et in Jesum Christum Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus mortuus et sepultus; descendit ad inferna, Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad cœlos, Sedit ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis; inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam Sanctorum Communionem, Remissionem peccatorum, Carnis resurrectionem, Vitam æternam.

[2] Pirminius however gives two Articles (VI. and XII.) to St Thomas, and omits the name of St Matthias.

Italy, and in the north of Africa. The frequent communication between these Churches will account for this simultaneous development; and there is very little doubt that the largest portion of the additions of this period had their origin in the African Church, and were due to the great influence and the catechetical labours of St Augustine. It was not for three hundred years or more after his death that the Creed was expanded to its full dimensions, and the last clauses added thereto were on "the Descent into Hell," "the Communion of Saints," and finally the addition of the words "Maker of heaven "and earth" to the first Article[1].

The cause of these several expansions was not the same which led to the extension of the Nicene Creed in the Oriental Church. It was not against heretical opinions that the clauses were enlarged. The only sentence in a Western Creed that was inserted as a safeguard against heresy soon died away even from the Creed of the Church which employed it. This was the "invisible and impassible" of the Aquileian Symbol, which was never widely adopted, and which soon fell out of use in Aquileia. This is very strong testimony to the truth of those statements on which Western writers lay such stress, that the Western Church was free from the taint of heresy for a long period.

Though the Creed has been found in the precise form we now have it, it would be a mistake to suppose that it was of general acceptance at the date of Pirminius. Even down to the fifteenth century variations of the language are to be found. These occur for the most part in the last four Articles, though there is a notable change in some

[1] A tabulated list of the various additions is given in the Appendix to this Chapter.

Creeds in Article v. There, from some development of doctrine, "descendit ad inferna" became in many instances "descendit ad inferos." It is not easy to trace the commencement of the change, but it occurs in Creeds of the ninth century[1]. The uncertainty of the language of the concluding articles may be seen in a Spanish Creed of Etherius, Bishop of Osma A. D. 785, where, beside other alterations in the earlier Articles, "the communion of saints" is omitted entirely[2]. This sentence is also absent from the Creed in the famous Psalter of king Athelstan which is preserved in the British Museum. This is a MS. of the ninth century, according to the opinion of the late Sir Frederick Madden, and it not only omits the sentence in question, but also the second clause of Article I. and the first clause of Article V. on the Descent into Hell, as likewise the twelfth Article entirely. It is curious also as being a Greek Version of the Western Creed[3].

In a MS. in the British Museum (Royal Library. 2. A. XX.), said to be of the eighth century, a Latin Creed is found, which, like the last-mentioned, wants the latter clause of Article I. It also reads, as do some early Creeds, in Art. III. "*qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine.*" In Art. IV. it omits both *passus* and *mortuus*; in V. it omits *descendit ad inferna*, inserts *Dei* but omits *omnipotentis* in Art. VI. It also omits Article XII., and has no mention of the "Communion of Saints." Except in the omission of the twelfth Article this form coincides very closely with the Creed of Chrysologus.

In the *Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis*, which has been

[1] See the Lambeth Psalter quoted by Dr Heurtley, *Harm. Symb.* p. 89, where the English Version is *he nither astah to hel-warum*, that is "to the inhabitants of hell."

[2] See Heurtley, *Harm. Symb.* p. 73.

[3] Heurtley, p. 79.

published by the Surtees Society, and which is believed to be of the date A. D. 1000, the Creed is twice[1] introduced, but only the first and last sentences are given. In both cases the final clause is "*in* vitam æternam," shewing that this sentence constituted a portion of Article XI. and was not a separate Article. A similar peculiarity is found in an English Creed of the fifteenth century which Dr Heurtley gives[2]. The words are "risyng of flesshe *unto* ay lastynge "lif." The same writer also quotes from Maskell a series of English Symbols in which the sentence on the Church stands variously thus: "And on holi Chirche," "And holy "Kirke," "And holy Chirche," "Al holi chirche," "Feith "of hooli Chirche," and simply "Holy Chirche." These forms[3], which are of dates from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, shew that the word 'Catholic' had not even at that time attained an assured place in the Symbols of the English Church[4].

It only remains to gather together such notices as we can find of the introduction of the Apostolic Creed into the daily services of the Church. On this point however there is little that can be advanced with any degree of certainty. Mr Ffoulkes[5] has shewn that in a Vatican MS. of the acts of the synod of Aquis-Grani, A.D. 816, there is a provision made for the use, in secret only, at prime, of the *Credo in Deum*. He has also pointed out that in the "Regula "Canonicorum," put forth about fifty years before that time by Chrodegand, bishop of Metz, there is no mention of

[1] *Rit. Eccl. Dun.* Surtees Soc. pp. 166, 181.

[2] Heurtley, p. 99.

[3] Heurtley, pp. 94, 95, 96, 98, 99.

[4] In the Creed which occurs at the end of Ælfric's *Homilies*, A.D. 1030, the word "Catholic" is omitted, the text merely being "ðа halgan gelaȝunge," the Holy Church. *Homilies*, by Thorpe, II. p. 596.

[5] On the *Athanasian Creed*, p. 184.

the use of the "Credo." It would seem therefore that about the date mentioned there must have taken place the introduction of the Apostolic Symbol into other parts of the Service beside the Baptismal Office.

Among the various treatises extant "De divinis "Cfficiis," the first in which such use of the Creed is noticed is that by Amalarius, deacon of Metz. In treating of the Office of Prime he says, "After the Lord's prayer "there follows our Belief which the holy Apostles drew "up, concerning the faith of the Holy Trinity, and the "dispensation of our Lord's incarnation, and the state of "our Church[1]." The date of Amalarius corresponds exactly[2] with that of the council of Aquis-Grani, and there can be little doubt that the provision there enacted almost immediately became the rule of a great part of the Western Church. At what time the use of the Creed was extended, and when it became a part of other services than prime, is not easy to discover. Its introduction even there was first made in the dominions of Charlemagne, and through the council in which his influence was so weighty.

As we have seen what Imperial influence could do in bringing about the acceptance at Rome of the "Filioque" clause of the Nicene Creed, it is not improbable that a like influence led Papal power to admit the Apostolic Creed into the same place in the Roman office which had been assigned to it at Aquis-Grani.

This period was marked by a very great effort on the

[1] Amalarius Fortunatus, *De Eccl. Off.* IV. 2. Post orationem Dominicam sequitur nostra credulitas, quam sancti Apostoli constituerunt de fide Sanctæ Trinitatis atque dispensatione incarnationis Domini ac statu nostræ ecclesiæ.

[2] He was alive A.D. 840, but did not live long afterwards, though the exact date of his death is unknown.

part of the Roman Church for uniformity[1], and the Roman service-books were everywhere encouraged in the place of the Gallican. This attempt is stated not to have been successful in Spain till the eleventh century, nor in Ireland till the twelfth. And as regards the Psalter, the Gallican rather than the Roman ultimately became of general acceptance. The steps by which it was brought about are not to be traced, but the regulation initiated by Charlemagne became the usage of the West. The extent of his empire had much to do with bringing about its universal adoption.

There is no record of the exact language of the Creed introduced at Aquis-Grani, but it is evident that the words of the Apostolic Symbol had not arrived even in Italy at a state of fixity before A.D. 960. At that time Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, wrote instructions to the Clergy of his diocese, and therein makes mention of all the three Creeds. In mentioning the Apostles' Creed he enjoins that it shall be learnt "according to the corrected Psalters[2]." So that the time of mutation was not altogether ended even in the tenth century. As the corrected Psalters made their way into general use the words of the Creed became settled, and one and the same type has in this way been spread throughout the whole of the Western Church.

[1] Mabillon, *de Liturg. Gallic.* I. 3.

[2] Sicut in Psalteriis correctis invenitur. Ratherii Epist. quoted by Waterland on the Athanasian Creed, chap. ii. under the date, A.D. 960. See Prof. Swainson on the formation of the Athanasian Creed, p. 70.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

I. *Note referred to on page* 130.

Mr Ffoulkes in his opposition to the commentary of Rufinus makes a great point of the addition said to have been made to the first article of the Creed by the Church of Aquileia. He writes thus (p. 38), "The first article of "the same Creed is in this Exposition stated expressly to "have been 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, *in-*"'*visible and impassible,*' these two last words we are "told having been added to it in consequence of the "heresy of Sabellius, known to our people—by the Aqui-"leians, that is—as the Patripassian." With the inferences drawn from this passage we are not concerned, but the statement contained in it receives the strongest possible confirmation from a sermon on the Creed by St Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who was likely to know whether such an addition to the first article of the Creed had been made in any of the churches of Northern Italy, and also to understand the reason why such addition had been made. The sermon is given in Caspari's *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, Pt. 2, pp. 50 seqq., and is called *Explanatio Symboli ad initiandos.* In treating on the first Article of the Creed the Bishop says, "Patri-"passiani cum emersissent putaverunt etiam Catholici in "hac parte addendum *invisibilem et impassibilem,* quia "filius Dei visibilis et passibilis fuerit." This sentence confirms to the full the statement made by Rufinus, and shows, on the authority of a writer slightly anterior to Rufinus, but so nearly contemporary as to be a most trustworthy witness in this matter, that this addition was made at this time to Symbols in the Churches of the North of Italy, and that the reason for it was that which Rufinus has alleged. St Ambrose died A.D. 397, Rufinus A.D. 410.

The entire sermon in Caspari is worth perusal.

From the two extracts following it will be seen in what form the Creed is found in the writings of St Augustine.

II.

Augustinus, *De Genesi ad Literam* (imperfectus liber). (*Migne,* XXXIV. 219).

De obscuris naturalium rerum quæ omnipotente Deo artifice facta sentimus, non affirmando, sed quærendo tractandum est; in Libris maxime quod nobis divina commendat auctoritas, in quibus temeritas asserendæ incertæ dubiæque opinionis, difficile sacrilegii crimen evitat: ea tamen quærendi dubitatio catholicæ fidei metas non debet excedere. Et quoniam multi hæretici ad suam sententiam, quæ præter fidem est catholicæ disciplinæ, expositionem Scripturarum divinarum trahere consueverunt; ante tractationem hujus libri catholica fides breviter explicanda est.

Est autem hæc: *Deum Patrem omnipotentem* universam creaturam fecisse atque constituisse per *Filium suum unigenitum,* id est Sapientiam et Virtutem suam consubstantialem sibi et coæternam, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, et ipsius consubstantialis et coæterni. Hanc ergo Trinitatem dici unum Deum, eumque fecisse et creasse omnia quæ sunt, in quantum sunt, catholica disciplina credi jubet; ita ut creatura omnis sive intellectualis sive corporalis, vel quod brevius dici potest secundum verba divinarum Scripturarum, sive invisibilis sive visibilis, non de Dei natura, sed a Deo sit facta de nihilo: nihilque in ea esse quod ad Trinitatem pertineat, nisi quod Trinitas condidit, ista condita est. Quapropter creaturam universam neque consubstantialem Deo, neque coæternam fas est dicere aut credere. Ecce autem omnia quæ fecit Deus, bona valde: mala vero non esse naturalia; sed omne quod dicitur malum, aut peccatum esse, aut pœnam peccati. Nec esse peccatum nisi pravum liberæ voluntatis assensum, cum inclinamur ad ea quæ justitia vetat, et unde liberum

est abstinere; id est, non in rebus istis, sed in usu earum non legitimo. Usus autem rerum est legitimus, ut anima in lege Dei maneat, et uni Deo plenissima dilectione subjecta sit, et cætera sibi subjecta sine cupiditate aut libidine ministret, id est secundum præceptum Dei. Ita enim sine difficultate et miseria, et cum summa facilitate et beatitudine administrabit. Pœna vero peccati est, cum ipsis creaturis non sibi servientibus cruciatur anima, cum Deo ipsa non servit: quæ creatura illi obtemperabat, cum ipsa obtemperabat Deo. Itaque non esse ignem malum, quia creatura Dei est; sed tamen uri eo imbecillitatem nostram ex merito peccati. Dici autem peccata naturalia, quæ necesse est committi ante misericordiam Dei, postquam in hanc vitam per peccatum liberi arbitrii lapsi sumus.

Renovari autem hominem per *Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum*, cum ipsa ineffabilis ac incommutabilis Dei Sapientia plenum totumque hominem suscipere dignata est, et *nasci de Spiritu sancto et virgine Maria; crucifigi, sepeliri, et resurgere, et ascendere in cælum*, quod jam factum est; *et venire ad judicandos vivos et mortuos* in fine sæculi, *et resurrectionem mortuorum* in carne quod adhuc futurum prædicatur. Datum esse *Spiritum Sanctum* credentibus in eum. Constitutam ab illo matrem *Ecclesiam*, quæ Catholica dicitur, ex eo quia universaliter perfecta est, et in nullo claudicat, et per totum orbem diffusa est. *Remissa esse* pœnitentibus priora *peccata*, et *vitam æternam* cælorumque regnum promissum.

III.

Augustinus, *Enchiridion de Fide Spe et Charitate.* (*Migne*, XL. 238 seqq.)

Chap. XXXIV. Quis enim hoc solum congruentibus explicet verbis, quod "Verbum caro factum est et habi-"tavit in nobis" (Joan. i 14) ut *crederemus in Dei Patris Omnipotentis unicum Filium natum de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine?*

Chap. XXXVII. Jesus Christus Filius Dei *unigenitus*, id est, *unicus*.

Chap. LIII. Quidquid igitur gestum est *in cruce Christi in sepultura, in resurrectione tertio die, in ascensione in cælum, in sede ad dexteram Patris;* ita gestum est, ut his rebus non mystice tantum dictis, sed etiam gestis configuraretur vita Christiana quæ hic geritur.

Chap. LIV. Jam vero quod de Christo confitemur futurum, quoniam *de cælo venturus est vivos judicaturus ac mortuos*, non pertinet ad vitam nostram quæ hic geritur.

Chap. LVI. Cum autem de Jesu Christo.... dixerimus adjungimus sic *credere nos et in Spiritum Sanctum*, ut illa Trinitas compleatur, quæ Deus est: deinde *sancta* commemoratur *Ecclesia*..... Rectus itaque Confessionis ordo poscebat ut Trinitati subjungeretur Ecclesia tanquam habitatori domus sua, et Deo templum suum, et conditori civitas sua.

Chap. LXIV. Ideo post commemorationem Sanctæ Ecclesiæ in ordine Confessionis ponitur *remissio peccatorum*.

Chap. LXXXIV. Jam vero *de resurrectione carnis*, non sicut quidam revixerunt iterumque sunt mortui sed *in æternam vitam*, sicut Christi ipsius caro resurrexit, quemadmodum possim breviter disputare, et omnibus quæstionibus quæ de hac re moveri assolent satisfacere, non invenio.

Table shewing the gradual formation of the Apostolic Creed.

The first occurrence of any word or phrase is marked by Capitals.
A perfectly blank space in the Table indicates that the portion of the article under which it occurs had not at that time come into use. The mark „ intimates that the article at that date agrees with the words ranged next above.

ULTIMATE TEXT of the Western CREED. — Pirminius, A.D. 750.	Art. 1.			2.		
	In Deum Patrem	Omnipotentem	Creatorem cœli et terræ	Et in Jesum Christum	Filium ejus Unicum	Dominum nostrum
I. St Cyprian. A.D. 250.	IN DEUM PATREM			IN CHRISTUM	FILIUM	
II. Novatian. A.D. 260.	„	Dominum OMNIPOTENTEM		In Christum JESUM	filium Dei	DOMINUM Deum NOSTRUM
III. Marcellus. A.D. 341.	εἰς θεὸν	παντοκράτορα		εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν	τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ	τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν
IV. Rufinus. A.D. 390. Aquileia.	In Deum Patrem	omnipotentem	invisibilem et impassibilem	et in Jesum Christum	UNICUM filium EJUS	Dominum nostrum
V. Rufinus. Rome.	„	„		„	„	„
VI. St Augustine. A.D. 400.	„	„		„	„ *also* [unigenitum]	„
VII. St Nicetas. A.D. 450.	„	„		„	filium ejus	
VIII. Eusebius Gallus. A.D. 550 (?).	„	„		„	„	„
IX. Sacramentarium Gallicanum. A.D. 650.	„	„	CREATOREM CŒLI ET TERRÆ	„	filium ejus unigenitum sempiternum	„

CREDO

3.				4.				
Qui Conceptus est	De Spiritu Sancto	Natus	Ex Maria Virgine	Passus	Sub Pontio Pilato	Crucifixus	Mortuus	Et Sepultus
	ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου	γεννηθέντα	καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου		τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου	σταυρωθέντα		καὶ ταφέντα
QUI	DE SPIRITU SANCTO	NATUS est	EX MARIA VIRGINE		SUB PONTIO PILATO	CRUCIFIXUS		ET SEPULTUS
„	„	„	„		„	„		„
„	„ *also* [per. Sp. San.]	„	„ *also* [et]	PASSUS	„	„		„
„	Ex Spiritu Sancto	„	Et Virgine Maria	„	„			
Qui CONCEPTUS EST	De Spiritu Sancto	„	Ex Maria Virgine				MORTUUS	et sepultus
„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„

	Art. 5.				6.				
	Descendit ad inferna	Tertia die	Resurrexit	a mortuis	Ascendit ad cœlos	Sedet ad dexteram	Dei	Patris	Omnipotentis
I.									
II.									
III.		καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ	ἀναστάντα	ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν	ἀναβάντα ἐς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς	καὶ καθημένον ἐν δεξιᾷ		τοῦ πατρός	
IV.	DESCENDIT in INFERNA	TERTIA DIE	RESURREXIT	A MORTUIS	ASCENDIT in CŒLOS	SEDET AD DEXTERAM		PATRIS	
V.		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,		,,	
VI.		tertio die	,,	,,	,,	,,		,,	
VII.		,,	,,	Vivus a mortuis	,,	,,		,,	
VIII.		tertia die	,,	a mortuis	ascendit AD Cœlos	,,	DEI	,,	OMNIPOTENTIS
IX.	Descendit AD Inferna	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

CREDO

7.	8.	9.			10.	11.	12.
Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos	In Spiritum Sanctum	Sanctam Ecclesiam	Catholicam	Sanctorum Communionem	Remissionem peccatorum	Carnis Resurrectionem	Vitam Æternam
	IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM	Per SANCTAM ECCLESIAM			REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM		VITAM ÆTERNAM
	,,						
ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς	καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα	ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν			ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν	σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν	ζωὴν αἰώνιον
INDE VENTURUS EST JUDICARE VIVOS ET MORTUOS	Et in Spiritu Sancto	Sanctam Ecclesiam			Remissionem peccatorum	Hujus CARNIS RESURRECTIONEM	
,,	,,	,,			,,	Carnis Resurrectionem	
,,	Et in Spiritum Sanctum	,,			,,	,,	Vitam Æternam
,,	,,	Sanctam Ecclesiam	CATHOLICAM		,,	Carnis hujus[1] Resurrectionem	,,
,,	,,	,,	,,	SANCTORUM COMMUNIONEM	,,	Carnis Resurrectionem	,,
,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

[1] Being in the hortatory part of the discourse the text reads *carnis tuæ*, but the article was clearly the same as in (IV.).

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE QUICUNQUE, COMMONLY CALLED THE CREED OF ST ATHANASIUS.

Sunt enim multa, e quibus istud unum, sacræ fidei altiora mysteria subtilioraque sacramenta ad quorum indagationem pertingere multi valent, multi vero aut ætatis quantitate aut intelligentiæ qualitate præpediti non valent.

Responsio Leonis III. pontificis ad legatos Caroli Magni, Mansi, XIV. 19.

In approaching the Examination of the "Quicunque" we are met by evidence of a character entirely different from that which we have investigated in the history of the Nicene and the Apostolic Creeds. Here is neither the Synodical authority of the former, nor the gradual growth of the latter, but when the composition appears for the first time as a document of authority it is cited in its completeness, and as the work of the father whose name it has since for the most part borne, although it was not brought to light for many centuries after his death.

The active share taken by St Athanasius in the Nicene Council renders it not improbable that some Symbol was put forth by him, and such a composition is no doubt alluded to by Gregory of Nazianzus[1], who says: "And "like as he formerly bestowed on the great assembly of

[1] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* (XXI.) *in laudem Athanasii.* Καὶ ὁ τῷ πολλῷ τῶν πατέρων ἀριθμῷ περὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐχαρίσθη πρότερον, τοῦτο περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αὐτὸς ἐμπνευσθεὶς ὕστερον καὶ δῶρον βασιλικὸν ὄντως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσενεγκὼν ἔγγραφον τὴν εὐσέβειαν κατὰ τῆς ἀγράφου καινοτομίας.

"the Fathers (*i.e.* the Nicene Council) concerning the "Son, so afterwards he himself being inspired offered to "the King a truly royal and splendid gift concerning the "Holy Ghost, scriptural piety against unscriptural inno-"vation."

The βασιλεὺς here mentioned is most probably the Emperor Jovian. The passage however is one which was capable of being used as evidence, when such evidence happened to be needed, that a Creed was written by St Athanasius, and known to his contemporaries. That such an interpretation was put upon it, and that it was considered to warrant the acceptance of the "Quicunque" as the production of St Athanasius, may be seen by the note on the above passage in one of the early editions of St Gregory's works. The editor affirms without questioning that the Creed alluded to is "that noble Symbol of Athanasius, "wherein the holy man embodied the teaching of the "Catholic Faith[1]."

It will be necessary to allude from time to time to the events of the life of St Athanasius, it may therefore be useful at the outset to give a brief *résumé* of them. He was born at Alexandria A.D. 298, but the names of his parents have not been handed down. His first prominent appearance was as a presbyter at the Nicene Council, where he exerted himself against Arius, and was, apparently by the dying advice of Alexander, chosen to succeed him as bishop A.D. 326. After about ten years of persecution by the Arian party he was exiled and took refuge at Treves in Germany, A.D. 336. Returning to his see on the death of the Emperor Constantine, his old enemies again assailed him, and by a decision of a Synod at Antioch, A.D. 341, he was deposed and Gregory elected

[1] Scholia to Bill's Translation of Greg. Naz. (Cologne 1570).

Bishop in his room. He thereupon appealed to Pope Julius I. to aid him, and his opponents when cited before the Roman Pontiff refused to appear. His case was, however, warmly debated at the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347, where the Western bishops acquitted him of all the charges made against him, but not so the Orientals. Upon the death of Gregory, however, in the next year, Athanasius returned and occupied the Episcopal seat in some degree of peace till A.D. 356. He was then forced to flee once more, and take refuge in the desert, while George of Cappadocia was made bishop of Alexandria. He returned after six years' absence, but was soon driven into retirement again, and was only recalled by the Emperor Jovian A.D. 363, from which time he continued unmolested till his death in A.D. 373.

Those who were anxious to fix upon a period of his life wherein the Creed ascribed to him might most probably have been written, have chosen the date of his appeal to the Papal authority. We have seen that a Creed was set forth by Marcellus under similar circumstances, and what could be more fitting than that the Bishop of Alexandria should put forth a confession for the satisfaction of the Pontiff whose aid he sought? And we find among the records of Councils[1] a brief mention of one said to have been held at Rome, A.D. 341, under Pope Julius, "on the subject of Athanasius and the other Bishops." Here the Quicunque is recorded both in Greek and Latin, but unfortunately in the sentence on the Procession the two forms are at variance, the Greek mentioning only the procession from the Father, while the double procession is stated in the Latin text. Beside this disagreement other inconsistencies, which demonstrate the untrustworthiness of

[1] Mansi, II. 1351.

the record, are adduced by Valesius[1] and Pagius[1]. It may therefore be dismissed from consideration.

It is certain also that whoever peruses the various Greek versions of the Creed which are extant cannot fail to abandon the notion that the original language of this composition was Greek. The unusual words and strange constructions betray the hands of translators, and those not of great skill. That this may be apparent four different versions of the first two verses are subjoined. The first is from the text originally edited by Felckmann from a MS. in the Palatine Library. The second was first published by Genebrard A.D. 1560, and was said by him to have belonged to the Church of Constantinople. The third was put forth by Henry Stephens in 1505, and afterwards by Genebrard. It is from a MS. of Lazarus Baiffius. The fourth is one which was published by Archbishop Usher in 1647 from a copy made by the famous Francis Junius. They vary widely from one another, as will be seen, and bear no trace whatever of a common Greek original. It is therefore impossible to believe that any such original ever existed.

Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem; quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit.

A. *εἴ τις θέλει σωθῆναι, πρὸ πάντων χρὴ αὐτῷ τὴν καθολικὴν κρατῆσαι πίστιν· ἣν εἰ μή τις ὑγιῆ καὶ ἄμωμον τηρήσειε, πάσης ἀμφιβολίας ἐκτὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπολεῖται.*

B. *τῷ θέλοντι σωθῆναι πρὸ πάντων ἀνάγκη τὴν καθολικὴν πίστιν κατέχειν, ἣν εἰ μή τις ἀκεραίαν καὶ*

[1] See Valesius in observ. l. i. and Pagius ad an. Christi 542, note 3.

ἀπαράθραυστον συντηρήσειεν ἀναμφιβόλως εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπολεῖται.

C. ὅστις ἂν βούληται σωθῆναι πρὸ πάντων χρὴ κρατεῖν τὴν καθολικὴν πίστιν· ἣν εἰ μὴ εἷς ἕκαστος σῶαν καὶ ἀμώμητον τηρήσῃ, ἄνευ δισταγμοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπολεῖται.

D. εἴ τις βούλοιτο σωθῆναι, πρὸ πάντων αὐτῷ χρεία κρατῆσαι τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν· ἣν ἐὰν μή τις ἀμόλυντον καὶ ἄφθορον τηρήσῃ αἰώνιον εὑρήσει τὴν ἀπώλειαν.

As a further specimen, and to shew that not only in language but in doctrine do these Greek versions disagree, we quote the renderings in the same four texts of the passage on the procession of the Holy Ghost. In addition to the same uncouthness of language it will be observed that two of the texts speak only of the Procession from the Father, while the other two have the mention of the double Procession. It is noteworthy that the copy said to have been connected with the Constantinopolitan Church is one of those containing this doctrine so generally repudiated by the Greek Church.

Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus. Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus sed genitus. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio non factus nec creatus, nec genitus est sed procedens.

A. ὁ Πατὴρ ὑπ' οὐδένος ἐστὶ πεποιημένος, οὔτε δεδημιουργημένος οὔτε γεγεννημένος. ὁ Υἱὸς ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ἐστιν, οὐ πεποιημένος, οὐδὲ δεδημιουργημένος ἀλλὰ γεγεννημένος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐ πεποιημένον, οὔτε δεδημιουργημένον οὔτε γεγεννημένον, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν.

B. ὁ Πατὴρ τοίνυν ὑπ' οὐδένος οὔτε πεποίηται,

οὔτε ἔκτισται, οὔτε γεγέννηται. μόνος Υἱὸς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου ἐστὶν οὐ ποιηθεὶς οὐ κτισθεὶς ἀλλὰ γεννηθείς. τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παρὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ οὐ ποιηθὲν, οὐ κτισθὲν, οὐ γεννηθὲν ἀλλ' ἐκπορευόμενον.

C. ὁ Πατὴρ ἀπ' οὐδένος ἐστὶν οὔτε μὴν κτιστὸς οὔτε ποιητὸς οὐδὲ γεννητός. Ὁ Υἱὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου ἐστὶν, οὐ ποιητὸς οὐ κτιστὸς ἀλλὰ γεννητός. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐ ποιητὸν οὐ κτιστὸν οὐδὲ γεννητὸν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν.

D. Πατὴρ γὰρ παρ' οὐδένος ἐστὶ ποιητὸς οὐ κτιστὸς, ἀλλ' ἀγέννητος. ὁ Υἱὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρός ἐστιν οὐ ποιητὸς οὐ κτιστὸς ἀλλὰ γεννητός. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρός ἐστιν οὐ ποιητὸν οὐ κτιστὸν οὐ γεννητὸν ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν.

These passages are enough, it is thought, to convince any enquirer that the Greek copies we have were never the original text, nor even the work of a writer whose native language was Greek. But they are exactly such renderings as persons not well acquainted with that language would make from the Latin.

In the Latin texts, on the contrary, the variations are few, and only such as occur in ordinary MSS., and such as may be seen among *variæ lectiones* in an edition of any Classical author. That the original language of the Quicunque was Latin and not Greek we therefore take to be indisputable, and proceed to investigate such evidence of its date and origin as are to be procured. And in so doing great assistance will be derived from the enquiries of previous labourers in this field, which in recent times has attracted much notice.

In the early part of the last century an examination of all the evidence on the subject of the Quicunque which could at that time be collected was instituted by Dr Water-

land, and it will perhaps be the most advantageous course to give at first a *résumé* of the results at which he arrived. To this may afterwards be added such further particulars as more recent investigations have brought to light.

He commences by an enquiry into the opinions that have been expressed about the Creed by the Learned Moderns. Of these he quotes thirty-two who wrote between 1642 and 1722, but out of the list he selects nine persons as the most worthy of consideration, because they have either studied the subject particularly, and struck new light into it, either furnishing fresh materials, or improving the old by new observations. Before mentioning these principal authorities and their opinions we may observe that out of the whole list of thirty-two there are only five, and not one of these among the nine whom the writer deems considerable, who pronounce the Creed to be the composition of Athanasius. Fourteen others either express no opinion on the authorship, or assign it to a Latin writer, or decide negatively that it is not the work of Athanasius. Of the remaining thirteen, eight assign the Creed to Vigilius Tapsensis, and the other five each to a different author.

Of the nine considerable authorities given by Waterland the first is Gerard Vossius, who in his work *De Tribus Symbolis* first commenced a critical enquiry into the history of the Quicunque. The result of his investigation is the conclusion that the Creed was originally written in Latin: that it was not the work of Athanasius, but composed in the eighth or ninth century, and not put forward as the work of Athanasius until it was adduced by the Legates of Pope Gregory IX. in 1233 A. D. at Constantinople as evidence that Athanasius had pronounced in favour of the double Procession of the Holy Ghost.

His opinion on the date of the composition underwent a little change, but he never allowed to the Creed a date anterior to 600 A.D.

Archbishop Usher was able to carry his investigations farther than Vossius from his familiarity with MSS., to which the latter, from want either of leisure or opportunity, had not turned his attention. He shews that the Creed was quoted under the name of Athanasius almost four hundred years before the time of Pope Gregory's legates, and even carries its date back beyond 447 A.D., though, as we shall see, the evidence on which he rests his opinion is not so worthy of acceptance as it appeared to him. He leaves the question of authorship undecided.

Paschasius Quesnel is the next authority of consideration, and he has assigned the Creed to Vigilius Tapsensis, as had even before been done by some. To this opinion, which would make the Creed of the fifth century, and nearly at the end of it, a great number of the learned have inclined.

Tentzelius in his *Judicia Eruditorum* has merely collected all that had been done before his time, on which by his own research he sheds some new light, but pronounces no opinion upon either the author or the date.

Joseph Antelmi, whose work is an attack upon the conclusions of Quesnel, assigns the Creed to the fifth century, and its composition to Vincentius Lirinensis; thus making its date about half a century earlier than that given to it by Quesnel.

Tillemont inclined rather to the opinion of Quesnel, but left the matter undecided, only stating his conviction that the Creed is not the work of Athanasius.

Montfaucon's edition of the works of Athanasius contains an elaborate dissertation on the Creed, wherein the

writer concludes that it may be of the date of Vincentius Lirinensis, and was probably composed by a Gallican writer. That it is the work neither of Athanasius nor Vigilius he expresses himself certain.

Muratori in the second volume of his *Anecdota* published a comment on the Quicunque ascribed to Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poictiers in the sixth century. His opinion is that Venantius was not only the author of the Comment, but the author of the Creed likewise, and he entirely rejects the judgment of those who would ascribe it to Athanasius.

Le Quien, who has a dissertation on the Age and Authorship of the Athanasian Creed prefixed to his edition of Damascenus, seems, as Waterland thinks, to incline towards Pope Anastasius I. A.D. 398, as the author, because the name *Anastasius* instead of *Athanasius* occurs in the title of some copies of the Creed. He asserts that it is as old as St Augustine, Vincentius and Vigilius, and speaks of it as a Latin Exposition.

From the evidence which he has collected under this head Waterland concludes that the work was originally composed in Latin, and was not the composition of Athanasius.

He next[1] examines such ancient testimony to the existence of the Creed as he could discover, including in his list evidence which covers a period from A. D. 670 to A. D. 1439. But the monks of Mount Olivet adduced a quotation from what they called the Creed of St Athanasius in A. D. 809, as evidence of the double procession, in their letter[2] to Pope Leo III. As this is the first trustworthy date at which we meet with any document under this name, it shall for the present limit our examination of

[1] Chap. II.

[2] See p. 93.

these ancient testimonies, so that it will not be needful to quote more than the first six of the thirty-six authorities which Waterland gives in this chapter. It may however be mentioned, to shew the steadiness of the tradition, after the Creed had once been assigned to the Bishop of Alexandria, that twenty-six of the authorities quoted call the Creed by the name of Athanasius, two give it no title, two call it *Fides Catholica*, three *Fides Quicunque vult*, and three *Psalmus Quicunque, &c.*

The first occasion on which the Quicunque was called *Symbolum*, Waterland found in the writings of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, A. D. 852[1].

I. The earliest ancient testimony to the existence of this Creed which he brings forward is assigned by him to A. D. 670, and consists of a canon said to be of the Council of Autun held under Leodegarius, Bishop there in the seventh century. The words are: "If any presbyter, deacon, sub-"deacon, or clerk doth not unreprovably recite the Creed "which the Apostles delivered by inspiration of the Holy "Ghost, and also the faith of the holy Prelate Athanasius, "let him be censured by the Bishop."

But this piece of evidence Waterland thinks not very satisfactory, for although the suggestion that "the faith "of the holy Prelate Athanasius" may mean the Nicene Creed is not of much weight, as it is scarcely to be supposed that the Creed of a general council would ever be designated by the name of one individual member thereof however distinguished, a more serious objection is that the Canon in question cannot be proved to have belonged to the council under Leodegarius. It occurs in a list headed *Canones Augustodunenses*, but with nothing to mark its date. It therefore stands in need of further

[1] But see infra, p. 226.

confirmation before it be received as satisfactory testimony.

II. Regino Abbot of Prom in Germany, who wrote in the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, mentions some articles of enquiry supposed to be about the time of Boniface, Bishop of Mentz A. D. 754. One of the queries is to this purpose, "Whether the clergy "have by heart *Athanasius' tract upon the Faith of the "Trinity*, beginning with, *Whosoever will be saved, &c.*" This evidence Waterland assigns to A.D. 760.

III. He also understands the Athanasian Creed to be meant in the 33rd Canon of the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, where it is ordered that "The Catholick Faith "of the Holy Trinity and the Lord's Prayer and Creed be "set forth and delivered to all." Vossius maintains, on the contrary, that the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds are intended by the Canon.

IV. In A. D. 809 a quotation of considerable length is made from the Creed by Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans, in his treatise on the Holy Ghost, written during the early part of the controversy on the Procession.

V. In his notes to Theodulphus, Sirmondus has published a quotation from an anonymous writer, which is to the following effect: "St Athanasius, in the exposition "of the Catholick Faith, which that great master wrote "himself, and which the Universal Church professes, de-"clares the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father "and the Son, saying thus: The Father is made of none, "&c." This passage seems, in tone, to be of such a character as might have been written at the same date as the work of Theodulphus, in illustration of which it is quoted, and to that date, A. D. 809, Dr Waterland accordingly assigns it.

VI. We have already noticed[1] that in the same year mention was made of this Creed by the Latin monks of Mount Olivet in their letter to Pope Leo III. This is the last of the ancient testimonies quoted by Dr Waterland to which it will be necessary for us at present to allude; for although it cannot be proved that these monks were in possession of the Creed exactly as we use it, it will hereafter be seen that the title which they give to it is one which seems to mark the time at which it may have reached something like its present form.

Some of the other notices quoted by Waterland under this head will be more fitly introduced when we come to speak of the use and acceptance of the Creed in different countries.

The next kind of evidence which he examines[2] is the testimony of ancient commentators and paraphrasts. Of these he brings forward thirteen examples, ranging in time from the sixth to the fifteenth century. For tracing the origin of the Creed the first two of these are alone necessary to be noticed, the dates of the rest all falling much below the time at which the Creed can be shewn to have been in use.

The first of them is Venantius Fortunatus, A. D. 570. He was an Italian, who became Bishop of Poictiers, and who is admitted to have written a comment on the Apostles' Creed. Muratorius published in 1698, from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, which has been ascribed to Venantius mainly because it was discovered in a volume which contained that Bishop's Commentary on the shorter Creed. In the poems of Venantius certain expressions occur which are said to bear a great resemblance to

[1] P. 95. [2] Chap. III.

some clauses of the Quicunque. Further, the style, thoughts and expressions of the two Comments exhibit great similarity to each other, and it is also thought that the whole character of the composition by its simplicity is more like the works of the sixth than any later century. Beside the MS. in the Ambrosian Library, there is another mutilated MS. of this commentary in the Bodleian, with the title *Expositio in Fide Catholica.*

It seems that Muratorius was inclined, on the evidence of the Ambrosian MS., to ascribe the composition, not of this Commentary only, but of the Creed itself, to Venantius, though it is not easy to believe that the author of the Creed would himself have written a comment upon it.

After noticing an allusion, which occurs in the notes of David Pareus on the Athanasian Creed, to a comment which is there cited as the work of Euphronius Presbyter, but for which work or its author he can find no further voucher, Dr Waterland proceeds to mention the comments, or rather partial comments, on the Athanasian Creed, which are to be found in the works of Hincmar of Rheims, A.D. 852. The manner of this writer, who makes his only quotations of the Creed in his controversy with Gotteschalk, is to intersperse such quotations with words of his own by way of explanation. Moreover, these quotations, to five of which Dr Waterland refers in his note, are drawn, as will be seen hereafter, from a limited portion of our present Creed, and employed to serve the author's purpose in his controversy. His work therefore hardly deserves the title of commentary or paraphrase, and the dates of the other commentators cited in this chapter are so far below the latest period to which the Quicunque is assigned, that they seem fitter for notice

among the evidences of its acceptance, than among the data for tracing the history of its composition.

The next chapter[1] is devoted to an account of the Latin MSS. of the Creed, the most ancient of which had disappeared at the date of Dr Waterland's treatise. It had however been seen in the Cotton Library by Archbishop Usher, and on that authority its date is given as about A.D. 600. Fortunately this MS. has been lately discovered in the Library of the University of Utrecht[2], and we are thus able to verify the description given of it by the Archbishop. The volume in which this copy of the Creed is found originally contained three distinct documents. (1) The Psalter (Gallican) in which the Creed occurs. After some blank folios there follows (2) a very ancient fragment of the Gospels preceded by the prologue of St Jerome, and (3) a charter of King Hlothair, which had been extracted from the volume before its disappearance, and is now, with the rest of the Cotton MSS., in the British Museum. The date assigned to this charter is A.D. 679; but all the three documents are so entirely distinct that no conclusion can be drawn from any one with regard to the date of the others. The accidental binding of them in one volume by Sir Robert Cotton, whose arms are on the cover of the Utrecht Psalter, constitutes their sole connexion. The conclusion of Archbishop Usher, founded on the character of the illustrations

[1] Chap. IV.

[2] It bears an inscription, "Bibliothecæ urbis Trajectinæ donavit D. de Ridder," which shews how it was presented to the Library, but how it came into the possession of the donor has not been traced. It has been suggested that Abp. Usher having obtained a loan of it, lent it to Voss, and that on the death of the latter it was disposed of with the rest of his property. It cannot be recovered, but has been lent to the British Museum, and is being photographed.

in the Psalter, which are very numerous, and of the writing, which is in rustic capitals, was that this MS. could not be later than the time of Pope Gregory the Great.

Next to be mentioned is the MS. of Treves, which is not itself now to be found, but from which the Colbertine MS., hereafter to be noticed, is a copy. Antelmi assigned as its date A.D. 450; Tillemont placed it a hundred years later, while Waterland does not claim for it a date anterior to A.D. 660. But it is to be noted that this, as of course also the Colbertine, contained only the second part of the Creed which relates to the Incarnation, and that it commences abruptly. The scribe writes: Hæc inveni Treveris in uno libro scriptum sic incipiente: Domini nostri Jesu Christi et reliqua. Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat[1]. Waterland notices that this fragment of the Creed contains many variations from the received form.

He next mentions a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, which has been printed by Muratori, and by him dated about A.D. 698, or rather earlier. Montfaucon had also seen the MS., and on their joint authority its date is fixed by Waterland at A.D. 700. This text varies in some places from the common copies, and has no title.

The copy of the Creed in the Psalter of King Athelstan comes next in order. The Rule of the Calendar contained in it points to A.D. 703 as its date, but it should be observed that the Rule may have been copied without alteration from an earlier Psalter; and to this opinion Dr Smith, who compiled the catalogue of the Cotton MSS., was inclined. There is besides a difference in the handwriting of the Psalter and the Rule, which prevents us from judging with certainty the age of the former even if we could be

[1] Montfaucon, Diatribe, p. 728. A photograph of this MS. has just been made for the Palæographic Society.

sure of that of the latter. The Saxon hand in which the Rule is written would, in the opinion of those best acquainted with MSS., fix its date earlier than the Italian writing of which the body of the Psalter consists.

The Colbertine copy of the Treves MS. Dr Waterland places next in his list, and assumes its date to be about A.D. 760, to which year he also assigns the St Germans MS. at Paris, mentioned by Montfaucon, and of the handwriting of which specimens are given by Mabillon[1]. It must be noted that in some places this latter MS. has readings which differ from our present text.

In A.D. 772 is fixed the date of the famous copy of the Creed which occurs in a Gallican Psalter, written in golden letters, and presented, as is said, by Charlemagne, while only King of France, to Pope Hadrian the First at the commencement of his Pontificate, of which an account occurs in the catalogue of the Library of Vienna made by Lambecius.

Next comes a mutilated MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, placed, on the judgment of Montfaucon, about A.D. 800, then a copy in a Psalter in the Library of Benet College, now Corpus Christi, in Cambridge, which has some variations from the common copies of the Creed, and the title of which is Fides Sancti *Anastathii* Episcopi; a mistake[2] which in later times helped on the ascription of the authorship of the Creed to Pope Anastasius. This MS. Dr Waterland was induced to place about A.D. 850, from a remark which has been inserted in it by Archbishop Parker, and also from the list of names of saints found in the Litany, which bears trace of great antiquity.

[1] De Re Diplom. p. 351.

[2] On some curious instances of the prevalence of this mistake see Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Vol. v. Preface. (Rolls Series.)

Dr Waterland's list comprises sixteen other MSS., coming down in date to A.D. 1400; but as the date of most of these can be fixed with certainty, and their existence only testifies to the acceptance of the Creed, we do not deem it needful to carry on the list, but leave the consideration of the remainder of the MSS., as well as of the versions on which he next[1] treats, till we come to enquire into the reception of the Creed.

From the foregoing evidence, combined with many particulars which demonstrate that the Creed was first published in Gaul, Dr Waterland has been led to ascribe its composition to Hilary, Bishop of Arles. His reasons may be briefly summed up thus: (1) The work appears to be such as might be expected from a bishop giving an account of his faith upon his entry into the episcopate, and Hilary was made a bishop in Gaul about A.D. 429. (2) Hilary's ability is acknowledged to have been equal to such a work. (3) Gennadius speaks of the bishop's works as small, but extremely fine, and Honoratus, who compiled a life of Hilary, tells us that he wrote a work entitled "Symboli expositio ambienda," a title not unlike that prefixed to some copies of the Athanasian Creed. (4) Hilary was a great admirer of St Augustine, which, were the Creed allowed to be his, would account for the great similarity between its phraseology and the expressions of the Bishop of Hippo. (5) Vincentius, who belonged to the monastery of Lerin, and to whose authorship the Creed has been ascribed by Antelmi, may well be supposed to have imitated the expressions of so famous a man as Hilary, who was abbot of Lerin before he was Bishop of Arles. Such imitation would account for the phrases which induced Antelmi to assign the Creed to

[1] Chap. v.

Vincentius. (6) The little we have of Hilary's writings is in character and style very similar to the sententious and antithetic language of the Quicunque.

In reply to the objection that Hilary, who lived till A. D. 449, might be expected to have given more notice in a composition of this nature to the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, Dr Waterland refers the date of the Creed to his entrance on the Episcopate, which took place anterior to the controversies raised by those heresies. The concealment of the author's name is accounted for by reason of the disfavour into which the bishop had come from his determined opposition to Pope Leo's attempted encroachments on the rights of the see of Arles. And the name of the author being concealed, such a composition, it is suggested, would easily acquire the title of "Fides Athanasii," to imply that it was a summary of the teaching of that Father, which title in process of time would be taken to indicate not only the character of the work but also its authorship. The above-named disfavour and consequent obscurity of the Bishop of Arles is assigned as a reason why we find no allusion to the Creed during the Eutychian and Nestorian controversies, in which it may seem strange that a document like this should never once be quoted.

This is, in a summary form, all the evidence produced by Dr Waterland for the date and authorship, and his conclusion from it he expresses thus: "Though I do not "pretend to strict certainty about the author of the "Creed, yet I persuade myself that none that have "hitherto been named have any fairer or so fair a claim "to it as the man I have mentioned."

The enquiries which have been made into this subject since the time when Dr. Waterland wrote have added

somewhat to the light which he possessed, and the results of these enquiries shall now be stated in such order as to refer to the evidence which he brought forward. With the opinions which he has cited from learned moderns we need not concern ourselves very greatly, because if more recent research has taken away the grounds on which those opinions were formed, of course the weight of their names becomes of no account. And in illustration of this it may be mentioned that in the case of one, and that perhaps the most important of the moderns who are quoted, viz. Archbishop Usher, Dr Waterland intimates that the evidence which had induced that author to give so early a date as A. D. 447 to the Quicunque had even in his day been shewn to be destitute of credit. "Usher," says he, "went upon the supposition that the words *a "Patre filioque procedens*, which occur in the account of a "Spanish council of the date A. D. 447, were genuine; and "not foisted into the Confession of that Council: as they "now appear to have been after a more careful view of "the MSS. of best note and greatest antiquity[1]."

We pass then to the ancient Testimonies set forth in Dr Waterland's treatise. The first of these is the notice contained among the Canons of the Council of Autun, which he has fixed at A. D. 670. But the way in which this mention occurs is calculated to raise great doubt of its trustworthiness. In Harduin's collection[2] of the Acts of the Councils there are given, under the title "Conci-"lium Augustodunense Sancti Leodegarii Augustodunæ "civitatis Episcopi circa annum Christi DCLXX," seven Canons, which are styled "Canones Augustodunenses "Sancti Leodegarii Episcopi," and which are respectively numbered I. V. VI. VIII. X. XIV. XV. Then with the title

[1] Waterland, p. 9, note, 2nd edition. [2] Vol. III. p. 1013.

"Canones Augustodunenses, Æra I." follows the Canon now under consideration which notices the Athanasian Creed, "Si quis Presbyter, Diaconus, Subdiaconus vel Cle-"ricus Symbolum quod Sancto inspirante Spiritu Apostoli "tradiderunt, et Fidem Sancti Athanasii Præsulis irrepre-"hensibiliter non recensuerit ab Episcopo condemnetur." This is separated from the rest of the Canons and accompanied by a marginal note which states that it is derived from a collection of Canons in the Library of the Monastery of St Benignus at Dijon. The expression "Æra I." is also explained in the margin to mean "Canon I." This, if it be true, proves that the Canon belongs to an entirely different list from the previously quoted seven, for there a different Canon I. is given. All that is remarked on it by Mansi is that it appears to belong to the Synod of Autun. There is, however, as Dr Waterland saw, no proof whatever that this Canon belonged to the Council held under Leodegarius, and if not, then its date must be very much later than that which is assigned to it if it were framed at any Synod of Autun. Mr Ffoulkes has also pointed out[1] from the Herovall collection, in which this same Canon occurs, that to one list wherein it is not contained there are attached the words "Consensio et confirmatio "Leodegarii Episcopi," a form of subscription which intimates that these were the Canons to which the bishop when living gave his ratification and consent: while to the longer list, which contains the canon of which we are treating, there is affixed the title "Canones Augusto-dunenses *Sancti* Leodegarii Episcopi," which must have been added after the death of the bishop, as he would not be called saint while alive. Everything then seems to indicate that this canon was not of the early council of Autun, and therefore any conclusion which might be

[1] *On the Athanasian Creed*, pp. 287 sqq.

drawn concerning the date of the Quicunque from the mention made of it therein would be entirely unsatisfactory.

Nearly a hundred years elapse, according to the dates given by Waterland, before we come in A.D. 760 to the next notice of the Creed by Regino abbot of Prom. This writer died A.D. 915, but the quotation in his work on Ecclesiastical Discipline, wherein allusion is supposed to be made to the Creed, is assigned by Baluzius to the time of Boniface Bishop of Mentz, who died A.D. 754. The words occur among some Articles of enquiry to be addressed to the Clergy, and are, "Si Sermonem Atha-"nasii Episcopi de Fide Sanctæ Trinitatis, cujus initium "est; *Quicunque vult salvus esse* memoriter teneat, et "sensum illius intelligat, et verbis communibus enuntiare "sciat[1]." No intimation is given in this collection of Canons of the date of any one of them, but the year mentioned by Waterland is assigned to this particular article merely on the supposition of the Editor of Regino's treatise. If therefore there were no other evidence to support it, the date of the Creed, so far as this record is concerned, might be placed anywhere before the time of Regino's death.

It should also here be noticed that the title given to the Creed in this Canon is "de Fide Sanctæ Trinitatis." Recent enquiries, of which more will be said hereafter, have led some to the opinion that the Creed is made up of two independent compositions, one of which has been the original of all as far as verse 26 or 27, while the second contains the groundwork of all the rest. With such an opinion before us we may observe that the above title "Of Faith in the Holy Trinity," could well be applied to the former portion of the Creed. It could not be given to the second part of the Creed when separate, nor very

[1] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxxii. 191.

fitly to the two when combined. A title which seems to limit the contents of the treatise as this does, and to leave out all notice of the clauses that relate to the Incarnation, is not so applicable to the whole work as many others (e.g. Expositio Catholicæ Fidei) which have been given to it elsewhere. And in the list of ancient testimonies given by Waterland we see that this restrictive title disappears almost immediately after the period at which we are now arrived, and a more general one takes its place. Such a variation in the title proves nothing of itself, but, joined with other circumstances, may help us to an assurance that at one time the former portion of the Creed was in existence in a separate form.

The thirty-third canon of the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, which is the next evidence adduced, speaking of the regulation of monastic life, says, care should be taken "ut Fides Catholica Sanctæ Trinitatis et Oratio Dominica "atque Symbolum Fidei omnibus prædicetur et tradatur," where we may again observe the same phrase in the title. It is still "Fides Sanctæ Trinitatis," and here is no mention of Athanasius.

The portion of the Creed quoted by Theodulphus the Bishop of Orleans, to whom Waterland next refers, is entirely from what has been pointed out as the first of the separate portions. It begins with verse 20, "The Father "is made of none," and ends with 26, "He therefore that "will be saved must thus think of the Trinity." It may be that the nature of the discussion on the Procession of the Holy Ghost in which Theodulphus was engaged restricted him in the quotations which he made, but the same remark will hardly apply to Archbishop Hincmar's treatise, "De non trinâ Deitate," in which the same portion of the Creed, as will be hereafter seen, is alone quoted.

Down to A.D. 809 therefore the case stands thus: The dates of the Canon of Autun and of Regino's article cannot be relied on. The Council of Frankfort cannot be cited as evidence of the existence of the Athanasian Creed, and all the quotations which have been hitherto made are taken from the first part of the Creed only.

When we come to consider Dr Waterland's next class of evidence, viz. ancient comments on the Creed, we are compelled to reject altogether the first which he has cited. On the authority of two MSS., one found by Muratori in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and the other among the Junius MSS.[1] in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, he has attributed a commentary on the "Quicunque," to Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poictiers, who flourished about A.D. 570. The latter of these MSS. wants about ten or a dozen lines at the beginning, though it bears a title, "Expositio in Fide Catholica."

Beside these two, Montfaucon discovered a copy of the same treatise at Florence, and Dr Swainson has found an imperfect copy at Vienna[2]. Neither of these have any title prefixed. In the copy discovered by Muratori, which is confessedly of a later date than the Junius MS., and which is by Waterland, as well as by its discoverer, placed no higher than the end of the eleventh century, the treatise is entitled "Expositio Fidei Catholicæ Fortunati," and it is on the evidence of this heading alone, occuring in a MS. written more than five centuries after the death of Venantius Fortunatus, that we are asked to believe that this comment was his composition. It is true that in the volume there occurs an exposition of the Apostles' Creed with the heading "a Fortunato Presbytero conscripta,"

[1] Jun. 25.

[2] Swainson, *On the Formation of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 53.

which is on all hands admitted to be the work of Venantius. But in proof of that fact we have an abundance of other evidence; and it is almost incredible that any person should have been rash enough, on the testimony of this one word in the title of the other treatise, to pick out Venantius from all the people who in five centuries possessed the name of Fortunatus, and credit him on such evidence with the authorship thereof, and build up on so frail a basis an account of the origin of the Quicunque.

Rejecting then this comment as of no authority whatever in the question of the history of the Creed, we come next to the evidence drawn from the writings of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, A.D. 852. This prelate quotes the Creed in several places of his work, and on this Dr Waterland dwells with more earnestness than the matter deserves. For though he is able to cite five passages[1] from the works of Hincmar, in which allusion is made to the Quicunque, and some quotations drawn from it, a single one of these passages contains all that there is in the other four, and it is no large part of the Creed which is appealed to by Hincmar. The passage in question is given below, and an examination of it will demonstrate that what Hincmar had and quoted from, and called a Symbolum, as Waterland credits him with doing, may very possibly have been only the first portion of what we now call the Athanasian Creed, and most probably not even the whole of that.

In his treatise, "De non trinâ Deitate[2]," setting forth the necessity of conforming to the faith of the Church, he writes: "Sic crede et confitere sicut credit confitetur "et prædicat sancta Catholica et Apostolica ecclesia "dicens."

[1] Waterland, p. 65.

[2] Migne, cxxv. p. 553.

(3) Fides Catholica hæc est ut unum Deum in Trinitate *personarum* et Trinitatem *personarum* in Unitate *Deitatis* veneremur.

(4) Neque confundentes personas *sicut Sabellius ut tres non sint,* neque *ut Arius* substantiam separantes *ut trina sint.*

(5) *Quia* alia *non aliud* est persona Patris, alia *non aliud est persona* Filii, alia *non aliud est persona* Spiritus Sancti.

(6) Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas, æqualis gloria, coæterna majestas.

(24) Et in hac *sancta et inseparabili* Trinitate nihil *est* prius aut posterius, nihil majus vel minus, sed totæ tres Personæ *Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus* coæternæ sibi sunt et æquales.

(25) Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, et Trinitas *personarum* in Unitate *Deitatis,* et Unitas *Deitatis* in Trinitate *personarum* veneranda sit.

The numbers prefixed to the several clauses refer to verses of the Athanasian Creed[1] as we now use it, and the italicized portions indicate the words which, as Waterland observes, Hincmar "in his quotations throws in as explanatory notes." Four verses near the beginning and two at the end of the first portion of the present Creed are, it will be seen, all which Hincmar quotes. He flourished A.D. 852, so that from these two ancient comments neither the antiquity nor the unity of composition of the Creed is advanced beyond the stage in which these points were left by the evidence drawn from the ancient testimonies of the previous chapter.

We proceed to examine the evidence drawn from MSS.; and first of the Utrecht Psalter. Since its rediscovery it

[1] I have employed the numbering given by Bishop Browne on the Articles, Art. VIII.

has been subjected to much examination. Portions of it have been photographed for the information of those who could not visit the original, and many opinions have been expressed on the question of its date. A most elaborate report on the matter has also been prepared, at the request of the Master of the Rolls, by that eminent authority, Sir T. Duffus Hardy, but it should be mentioned that this report is made from examination of the photographs only, not from inspection of the original. The conclusion at which he arrives is that the Psalter is a work of the latter part of the sixth century. This coincides with the opinion expressed by Archbishop Usher, who attributes it to the age of Pope Gregory the Great, A.D. 590—604. And the modern opinions of Gustavus Haenel and Baron van Westreenen place it at the same period. The librarian of the University of Utrecht, Dr Vermuelen, on the contrary, says that it belongs to the age of the Emperor Charlemagne, and many other persons[1] have assigned to it a date quite as late as this.

The MS. is now in England, and it is to be reproduced in facsimile by the autotype process, so that more trustworthy copies will be circulated, and we may expect that the palæographic questions will receive further elucidation. In the meantime some points may be noticed which seem to confirm the later rather than the earlier date. Much stress has been laid on the antiquity of the handwriting of the fragment of the Gospels, and in the report of Baron van Westreenen[2] it is stated that the Psalter and the annexed fragments of the Gospels "seem to be about the same time." But the examination of the parchment shews that these two MSS. are independent of each other, and

[1] See Dr Swainson, *On the Formation of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 13.
[2] Quoted by Sir T. D. Hardy in his Report, p. 42.

only owe their connexion to the accident of binding, so that no conclusion of the date of one can be formed from that of the other. Moreover, the larger and bolder character of the handwriting of the Gospels together with the absence of abbreviations, and the compression of words into smaller space by lowering in height the terminal letters, as well as the absence of punctuation, all indicate that this portion of the volume is of much greater antiquity than the Psalter.

The idea that both parts of the volume were of the same date and by the same hand has led Sir T. D. Hardy to state in his report[1] that the punctuation is not carried on throughout the MS. In the Gospels the punctuation of the Psalter does not occur. A full point is all that is there used. But the punctuation visible in the photographs of the Quicunque, as published in his Report, is found on every page of the Psalter. The parchment on which the fragments of the Gospels are written is much lighter in colour than that of the Psalter, and abbreviations occur in the latter which are not found so early as the sixth century[2]. The questions connected with the date of the illustrations are too technical to be introduced here, but equally conflicting opinions have been expressed about their age, and the whole matter requires the earnest investigation of students of palæography.

There is however one part of the Psalter which, from the investigations we have already made into the history of the Apostolic Creed, may induce us to place the MS. in the eighth century rather than at an earlier date. The first occurrence of the Apostolic Creed in the exact words

[1] P. 15.

[2] Cf. the abbreviation of infirmentur on fol. 33 *a*, and of commovebitur, 65 *b*.

which we now use was found to be[1] A.D. 750, in the Scarapsus of Pirminius. But in the Utrecht Psalter our form is given word for word on the recto of the folio which contains the Quicunque, the last six words being carried over to the page on which the Creed begins. If the early date assigned to the Psalter were correct, we should be forced to the conclusion that this form of the Apostolic Creed, which has since gained universal acceptance, was in existence for nearly two centuries before it won its way to general use, and yet was included in the sixth century among the contents of a Psalter of such magnificence as this must have been when first written. The splendour of this MS. is too great to admit of the supposition that it was designed for some obscure place or person, and it is therefore incredible that the creed which it contained should either be an unusual form or remain so long unnoticed. Much more probable does it seem that the Psalter was not written until some time after the Creed given by Pirminius had become of common acceptance. If the remarks in the last chapter on the history of the Apostles' Creed from the sixth to the eighth century be examined, still more weight will be given to this objection. The variations there traced out were gradual, and came in from various sources and at various times during those two centuries. But if the early date of the Utrecht Psalter be admitted we must suppose them all anticipated. We must believe that in a Gallican Psalter these changes had all been made, and that too simultaneously, nearly two centuries before they were brought into public notice, though as soon as this copy comes to light in the works of Pirminius, the form of the Creed therein given is adopted throughout Christendom. The palæographic evidence must be made much more

[1] See p. 171.

certain than we judge it to be at present before such a conclusion can be forced on our acceptance.

More near the truth seems Dr Vermuelen's opinion. Pirminius wrote about A.D. 750. He spent an active life, partly in France and partly in Germany. He was the founder of several monasteries, in one of which he died, A.D. 755. The Creed which he set forth would no doubt be held in veneration in every foundation with which he was connected, and if we allow half a century for it to become generally accepted, we are brought to the time of Charlemagne, which Dr Vermuelen thinks is the period to which the Psalter should be referred. We therefore place its date in round numbers at A.D. 800, as the earliest possible time at which it could have been produced with its present contents.

The next authority which is brought forward is the Treves MS., of which the original has disappeared, but a copy is preserved and known as the Colbertine MS., in the Paris Library. The date of the copy is placed about A.D. 730—760. This manuscript however contains only a portion of our present Creed. The scribe to whom we are indebted for its preservation, has, in the portion of the MS. which precedes it, recorded some notice of the Council of Chalcedon. This is concluded with the rubricated colophon "Explicit sinodum mundanum id est universale "aput Calcedona." After this he proceeds to give a document which corresponds in the main with the latter portion of the Quicunque. A copy is given below, and therein is marked the number of the verse of our present form to which each clause corresponds, while the words which vary from that form are italicized. The writer prefaces his copy with a rubricated title thus: "Hæc invini Tre- "veris in uno libro scriptum sic incipiente Domini nostri

"Jesu Christi et reliqua. Domini nostri Jesu Christi "fideliter credat." Then commencing with a large capital, as though this were the starting point of that part of the form which might properly be called the Faith, he proceeds with his copy thus:

(28) Est ergo Fides recta ut credamus et confitemus quia dominus Jesus Christus Dei filius deus pariter et homo est.

(29) Deus est *de* substantia Patris ante secula genitus, *et* homo *de* substantia matris in sæculo natus.

(30) Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo ex animâ *rationabili* et humana carne subsistens.

(31) Æqualis Patri secundum divinitatem minor Patri secundum humanitatem.

(32) Qui licet *Deus sit homo*, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.

(33) Unus autem non *ex eo quod sit in carne conversa divinitas*, sed *quia est in deo adsumpta dignanter humanitas.*

(34) Unus *Christus est* non confusione substantiæ sed unitatem personæ.

(36) Qui *sæcundum fidem nostram* passus est *et mortuos* ad inferna *discendens*, et die tertia resurrexit.

(37) *Adque* ad celos ascendit, ad dexteram Dei *Patris* sedet, *sicut vobis in simbulo tradutum est;* Inde *ad judicandos* vivos et mortuos *credimus et speramus eum esse venturum.*

(38) Ad cujus adventum *erunt* omnes homines *sine dubio in* suis corporibus *resurrecturi* et reddituri de factis propriis rationem.

(39) *Ut* qui bona egerunt *eant* in vitam æternam, qui mala in ignem æternum.

(40) Hæc est fides *vera et* Catholica quam *omnes*

homo qui ad vitam æternam pervenire desiderat scire integræ debet et fideliter custodire.

This copy, which I have transcribed from Professor Swainson's volume[1] *On the Formation of the Athanasian Creed*, has been given with all the errors of the scribe, and it will be seen that every one of the last thirteen verses of our Quicunque, except the thirty-fifth, has some representative in it, though the large proportion of italics shews that the variations are very numerous.

The discovery of this document was a notable occurrence to him who found it. He was evidently unacquainted with it, and transcribed it from a sense that others would be glad to know of such a monument. It was therefore copied, as Professor Stubbs has pointed out, before the learning of the Athanasian Creed formed any part of a clerk's education. It appears to have been made in the early part of the eighth century. But from the use of the expression "in sæculo" in the clause relating to our Lord's incarnation, Professor Swainson has argued, and not without reason, that the original, from which this Colbertine MS. was taken, was written before the Council of Chalcedon. In the canons of that council, and in all authoritative documents of subsequent synods, this expression "in sæculo" is changed into "in novissimis "diebus" or some words of the like kind. Nor does the phrase "in sæculo" come into use again till it appears in the Quicunque. But before A.D. 451 it was the expression regularly employed. The original document may from this be assumed to have been of some date previous to the middle of the fifth century.

There can be little doubt that this document is the groundwork of the latter half of the Quicunque. The

[1] Pp. 31—33.

order of the sentences is the same, and, amid much diversity, there is a great similarity, and in one verse absolute identity of language. We may conclude therefore that some part of the Creed was in existence before A.D. 450. But the admission of such antiquity for some portion does away altogether with the acceptance of the Quicunque as an original work. This Treves MS. varies widely in tone from the modifications which it afterwards received, and in such a manner as no author can be supposed to have changed his own writing. It also demonstrates for what purpose this composition was in the first instance designed. It was not a Creed—Symbolum—but an exposition of certain truths which the Creed set forth, a "sermo" (as it is not unfrequently named) suited for catechumens at the "Traditio Symboli." "Secundum "fidem nostram" proves plainly that this was not the authoritative embodiment of the belief, and "sicut vobis "in symbolo traditum est" shews that the person using the words was the preacher addressing those who had been taught the faith in some shorter form upon which this was designed to be a comment.

The character of the alterations, and the inferences to be drawn from them, will be more fitly noticed when we have passed in review the rest of the evidence from MSS.

The next of these adduced by Waterland is that in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The Creed of this MS. has been printed by Muratori[1], who assigns the volume to the seventh century. There is a difference of a century between his judgment and Montfaucon's, who also had seen the volume. What its date may be will be considered more at length when we come to speak of the changes which have been introduced from time to time

[1] *Anecd.* Tom. II. p. 224.

into the language. The point most needful to be noticed at present is, that this MS. marks the transition stage of the Quicunque. The variations in it from our present copies are numerous, and may be seen in Waterland among his "variantes lectiones[1]." Without quoting the whole of them, the following list will be sufficient to support this position.

In verse 5 the word *persona* is repeated both before Filii and Spiritus Sancti, an addition which, with others in the same verse, is also made by Archbishop Hincmar in his quotation.

In verse 22, after *sed procedens*, this Ambrosian copy adds *Patri et Filio coæternus est.*

In 30 and 35, for *rationalis*, the adjective used is *rationabilis*, as in the Colbertine MS. in the latter verse.

In 33 this copy follows the Colbertine MS. in reading for *in Carnem* and *in Deum* of our present version *in Carne* and *in Deo.*

In 36 it omits *tertiâ die*, and in 38 the whole clause *resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et.*

The second of these variations is of such a character as to stamp this MS. with a date posterior to the great controversy on the Procession of the Holy Ghost. It is an expansion and affirmation of the preceding portion of the verse which could hardly be expected before that controversy had excited a considerable degree of attention, that is at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. The two following variations prove that a text like that of the Treves MS. was the basis on which the latter portion of the Quicunque was raised, and the last proves that it took more than one step to alter "resurrecturi" into "resurgere habent." It seems most

[1] P. 229, seqq.

likely therefore that the Ambrosian copy of the Creed cannot lay claim to a greater antiquity than A.D. 800, or it may even be as late as A.D. 850, a period when the Procession controversy was calling forth all the ablest pens and exercising the ablest wits in Europe.

We pass now to consider the copy of the Creed found in what is known as King Athelstan's Psalter. It is in the British Museum, marked Galba A. xviii. The date A.D. 703 has been assigned to this MS., but Waterland gives reasons for doubting the correctness of the conclusion. It has been fixed from an examination of the Rule of the Calendar in the volume, but there can be no doubt that this was copied without alteration from one of the earlier date. That the Calendar cannot itself be a production of A.D. 703 is clear: for embodied in it, and in the same handwriting, is a notice of the obit of King Alfred, which puts the date at least below A. D. 901. But the body of the Psalter is not in the same hand in which the Rule is written, the latter being in a Saxon, the former being in a German, and apparently an earlier, hand. There is however a reason why we should hold the Psalter itself to be of a later date than A.D. 750. It contains the Apostles' Creed word for word as given in Pirminius. If fifty years were not too long a time to allow for this Creed to make way and be admitted into the Utrecht Psalter, a like time, or even more, may be given for its introduction into this volume. The form of the Athanasian Creed has few variations from our present use. This circumstance points to a date later than that of the Ambrosian MS. with its unsettled text, and will bring the date of the Psalter below A. D. 815, the Rule, which is a separate work, having been written after A. D. 901.

The Colbertine MS., which is next in Dr Waterland's list, we have already noticed. The portion of the Creed

which it contains is derived from a source of great antiquity, and there can be little doubt that it presents us with a very primitive form of the final verses of the Quicunque, and the milder language of its concluding clauses tells of a time long anterior to that in which they were changed into their present form.

To the St German's MS., which follows next, some of the remarks made on the Ambrosian copy of the Creed will apply. In this, as in that, the language has not yet become fixed. It has advanced a degree, but yet presents some remarkable variations. The most noteworthy of these are subjoined.

In verse 2, for *inviolatam* we find inviolabilem.

In 19, for *et Deum et Dominum* it gives Deum ac Dominum.

In 29, for *in sæculo natus* it has *in sæculo genitus perfectus homo.*

In 30, the influence of the Treves MS. is found here as in the Ambrosian Creed, and *rationabili* is the reading, not *rationali.*

The same remark applies to 33, where this MS. also reads *in carne* and *in Deo* instead of the accusatives.

In 35, *ad infernos* is given for *ad inferos.* This may be an error of the scribe, or it may be the transitional stage of the reading from the Colbertine *ad inferna discendens.* In the same verse *tertiâ die* does not appear.

In 36, *dexteram Patris* is expanded by the addition of *omnipotentis.*

The above examples shew that the date of this St German's MS. cannot be far removed from that of the Ambrosian, so many of these variations are the same in both copies. But this must be considered the later of the two, because it includes the strange phrase of the modern

version in verse 36, *resurgere habent cum corporibus suis.* Its date will thus fall, at the earliest, within the first twenty years of the ninth century.

Next to this comes the MS. described by Lambecius in his catalogue of the Imperial Library at Vienna. He states that it belonged to Charlemagne, and was presented by that monarch, at a time when he was only *King of France,* to Hadrian I. on his accession to the Papal throne. This conclusion he founds on the evidence of a set of verses which are inscribed on the first folio of the Psalter. But Mr Ffoulkes has[1] pointed out that the words may have been written by any King Charles of France to any Pope Hadrian. The fixing of the precise year of the presentation which gives such an air of credibility to the account as it is found in Dr Waterland, is a pure conjecture of Lambecius, as he himself states. "Ipse Carolus "Magnus proprio carmine suo testatur se illum Codicem "summo Pontifici Hadriano I. dono misisse, et quidem, "*ut ego arbitror,* illo ipso anno DCCLXXII, cujus die "decimo Februarii jam memoratus Hadrianus in sum-"mum Pontificem electus est." This is the only authority for the most circumstantial account that has been current of the presentation of this Psalter. That there is as little ground for the assertion that it must have been a present from Charles *the Great* to Hadrian *the First* will be evident from a perusal of the subjoined copy of the poem[2], on which that assertion rests.

[1] *Athanasian Creed,* p. 304.

[2] Lambecius, *Comment. de Biblioth. Cæs. Vindobon,* Lib. II. cap. v. p. 263.

Hadriano summo Papæ Patrique beato
Rex Carolus Salve mando valeque Pater.
Præsul Apostolicæ munus hoc sume Cathedræ
Vile foris visu stemma sed intus habens.

How came then this assured ascription of the gift to Charlemagne? There is a record, attested by an Imperial notary and prefixed to the volume, which may throw some light on the question. Lambecius[1] gives it in full. An abstract will be enough for the present purpose. It states that this Psalter had been used by Hildegard, wife of Charlemagne, while she lived (dum viveret), and that in memory of himself and his wife, *the Emperor* gave it to the church at Bremen A.D. 788, and that it had been kept there for more than eight centuries (octo integris sæculis et quod excurrit). This memorandum therefore must have been inserted after A.D. 1588. What such an attestation is worth may fairly be questioned. Hildegard became queen A.D. 772, and died A.D. 783, but Charlemagne was not Emperor till A.D. 800, and so not when he is stated to have presented this book to the church of Bremen, though he has that title in this record of the gift.

Another clause of the entry, which professes to be derived from ancient records of the Church, tells that

Organa Davidico gestat modulantia plectro
Continet et lyricos suavisonosque melos.
Hæc tua, Christe, chelys miracula concinit alma
Qui clavem David sceptra domumque tenes.
Mystica Septeno fuerant hæc trusa sigillo,
Carmina ni Christus panderet ista Deus.
Hoc vobis ideo munus pie dedo, Sacerdos,
Filius ut mentem Patris adire queam.
Ac memorere mei precibus sanctisque piisque
Hoc donum exiguum sæpe tenendo manu.
Et quanquam modico niteat splendore libellus
Davidis placeat celsa Camæna tibi.
Rivulus iste meus teneatur flumine vestro
Floriferumque nemus floscula nostra petant.
Incolumis vigeas Rector per tempora longa
Ecclesiamque Dei dogmatis arte regas.

[1] *Ut supra*, p. 295.

Charlemagne, in consideration of the sanctity of Willehad, Bishop of Bremen, endowed that bishopric largely, and gave to the Church certain "insignia," among which was included "Psalterium divæ Ipsius conjugis." St Willehad became bishop A.D. 788, and from this a date has been fixed for the presentation of the Psalter to the Church of Bremen. Now the presentations to the Pope and to the Church of Bremen can hardly both be correct. Hadrian I. ascended the Papal throne A.D. 772, and died A.D. 795. His Papacy therefore includes the whole period embraced by the statements, though he died before Charlemagne became Emperor. Had the Psalter been presented to him first, and the gift afterwards resumed by the King, some notice would certainly have been taken that the volume had been in the possession of a Pope. Hadrian I. was at least as important an owner of the book as Queen Hildegard. But the inscription contemporary with the MS. which attests the presentation of the volume to the Pope is ignored in the entry of the notary. And yet the time which elapsed between the transference of the book from the Pope to the Bishop and the Church of Bremen may have been only *five* years, and can at the most, if the records be true, have been *sixteen*. A third clause of the entry calls the book by the same title, the Psalter of the wife of Charlemagne, and the whole is signed by the notary, "Joannes Henseler."

It is on the credit of this late entry, made at a time when a similar document might have been obtained to attest the veracity of the history of three skulls of the Magi in the Cathedral at Cologne, that the possession of the volume has been assigned to Charlemagne. He was the greatest Charles of whom those who composed the record knew anything. They noticed 'Rex Carolus' in the dedicatory verses, and framed their ascription by that

light. It did not contradict their ideas, and so the rest of the story about Hildegard and Willehad, which no doubt had been growing during their long possession of the volume, was added from records found in the Church, which bear many tokens of a modern origin. It is only on a more close examination that the inconsistencies of the account appear, inconsistencies which demonstrate the incorrectness of the whole of this formal document.

Now be it observed, Charles the Bald came to the throne of France A.D. 840 and died A.D. 877, having been crowned emperor A.D. 875; and Pope Hadrian II. occupied the Papal chair from A.D. 867—872. Every word of the verses given above may with equal accuracy have been applied by that King to that Pope, and there is not a word before the sixteenth century attestation to lead us to accept one account of the presentation rather than the other.

Moreover, from the description of the MS. given by Lambecius it seems that the Quicunque is hardly of the same age and character as the body of the Psalter. It is included with other hymns in what the author of the description calls an Appendix. Before the commencement of the Psalter there are certain documents which he calls *Prolegomena*, and after speaking of them he adds[1]: 'cæterum quamvis tam de hisce Prolegomenis quam de ipso præstantissimo illius Psalterii aureis literis exarati contextu ejusque *lemmatibus et Appendice* alio commodiori loco in hisce commentariis agere constituerim"...: a sentence which indicates that he considered the contents of this Appendix as a distinct work. And when he is about to treat of that part of the volume, he commences thus[2]: "Sequitur deinde Appendix." Among the contents of

[1] Lambecius, Vol. II. p. 267.
[2] P. 294.

this portion are the "Te Deum" with the title "Hymnus quem S. Ambrosius et S. Augustinus invicem condiderunt," also the Apostolic Creed called "Symbolum Sanctorum Apostolorum," and the heading of the Quicunque is "Fides S. Athanasii Episcopi Alexandrini." These titles are not found elsewhere till the ninth century and are not common then[1]. For several reasons therefore it is more probable that this copy of the Creed, in which no variations from our present form appear, is of the date of Charles the Bald rather than of Charlemagne. That the Psalter was presented by the latter there is not one scrap of proof.

The fragmentary manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, which is the next noticed by Waterland, contains only the first eleven verses of the Creed. There are no variations in the readings, so that this may be placed as late as the preceding, as may also, for the same reason, the copy which occurs in a Gallican Psalter in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The error in the title of the Creed which is found in this latter manuscript, and its effect, have already been noticed. In other respects the title, "Fides Sancti Anastathii Episcopi," is not very dissimilar to those in the Athelstan Psalter and Vienna MS., and would of itself suggest a similarity of date.

It is not necessary to dwell on the ascription of the authorship to Hilary of Arles which Dr Waterland has ventured upon. If either the composite character of the Creed can be established, or the date of its introduction proved to be about the time to which all the evidence hitherto examined seems to point, the authorship of Hilary becomes out of the question.

The enquiry has now been brought down to a period

[1] See Ffoulkes' *Athanasian Creed*, p. 307.

after which, wherever the Creed occurs, it is found in the exact form in which we now possess it.

All the evidence which can be derived from study of the MSS. and ancient testimonies seems to indicate that the Creed was not always of its present extent. The first portion down to the end of verse 26 is exactly described by the titles so constantly bestowed on it, "Fides Sanctæ "Trinitatis," or "Fides Catholica Sanctæ Trinitatis." Add to this that all the quotations which are made from it for a long period, come from the first portion only. It is also worthy of notice that when Hincmar, who quotes as largely as any writer from the former portion, alludes as he does in one place[1] to the Symbol of Athanasius, he quotes words which are no more peculiar to this than to the Apostolic or Nicene Creeds. There is no place to be found where he or any of his immediate predecessors allude to the clauses of the Creed which relate to the Incarnation. This is not of itself conclusive, but when the number of instances of quotation which can be produced is considered, as well as the title which for so long a period hints at nothing but a definition of the doctrine of the Trinity, it affords a very strong ground for presumption that the second part of our present Creed was not known to those who made the quotations and employed the title.

Of course it may be said, as it has been said, that these authors quoted only such portions of the Creed as were applicable to the questions which they were dis-

[1] The passage is worth quoting. It occurs in the "*De prædestinatione dissertatio posterior* (Migne cxxv. 374). Hincmar is quoting from St Siricius: Hinc S. Siricius ad Himerium cap. 3....."Et Athanasius in Symbolo dicens se credere in Christum, præmissis aliis, assumptum in cœlis sedere in dextera Patris, inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos exspectamus in hujus morte et sanguine remissionem peccatorum consecuturi."

cussing. And there is weight in the remark. If it can be shewn, however, that this portion of the Creed, without the second part, was anywhere set forth as a complete exposition of the Catholic Faith, the above objection will be answered, and the more conclusively if all or most of the quotations which Hincmar and his contemporaries record be given in such exposition. This appears to have been done by Dr Swainson. In his essay on *The Formation of the Athanasian Creed* he prints[1] side by side two such expositions. The first is taken from a MS. at Vienna, believed to be of the twelfth century, but containing materials of a much earlier date. In this manuscript, with the heading "De Catholica Fide," the following form is found, which is given with numbers affixed which refer to our present version of the Quicunque.

(1) Quicunque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem.

(2) Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit absque dubio in æternum peribit.

(3) Fides autem catholica hæc est ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur.

(4) Neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes.

(5) Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

(6) Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas æqualis Gloria coæterna Majestas.

(24) *Qui* in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus, sed totæ tres personæ coæternæ sibi sunt et coæquales.

(26) Quicunque ergo *cupit* salvus esse *et catholicus hæc teneat et credat, et vitâ vivet.*

[1] P. 39.

Thus far and with only the variations marked by italics does this manuscript give the text of our present copies, after which, as though all that was to be delivered on the Catholic Faith was concluded, the writer proceeds to dwell on Christian life and practice. "Sed tamen post "hæc si ad cæleste regnum desiderat pervenire et æterna "bona concupiscere contra diaboli insidias quotidie necesse "est certare, &c."

That the confession here given may very well have been the whole of the original document will be apparent if we examine the clauses of the Quicunque which are not represented in it. The Bishop of St David's has remarked from independent study of the Creed that its verses from 7 to 19 are mere amplifications of the statements made in previous verses. These amplifications are the most likely portion to have been supplied by a later hand, and in this copy as well as in the quotations of Hincmar, Alcuin, Agobard and other writers not a trace of them is to be found.

Again in the confession of Denebert who became Bishop of the Wiccii (*i.e.* Worcester), A.D. 798, we are met by the same peculiarity. This document is the more valuable as it proves that what is given in it is quoted from a written original. "Scriptum est," it commences, and we give the words for the sake of comparison, with the numeration of verses which refers to our Quicunque. Scriptum est,

(1) Quicunque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est *illi* ut teneat fidem Catholicam.

(3) Fides autem catholica hæc est ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur.

(4) Neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes.

(5) Alia enim est persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti,

(6) Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas æqualis Gloria coæterna Majestas.

(20) Pater a nullo factus est, nec creatus, nec genitus.

(21) Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus.

(22) Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.

(24) In hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus, sed totæ tres personæ coæternæ sibi sunt et coæquales.

(25) Ita ut per omnia, sicut supra dictum est, et Trinitas in Unitate, et Unitas in Trinitate veneranda est.

And having put forth this exposition, embracing the whole sum of the faith, the bishop proceeds to mention the decrees of the Popes which he undertakes to observe.

These two documents were so clearly regarded as complete by those who used them, that when their evidence is combined with that of the constant use of some title indicative of the doctrine of the Trinity only in the early quotations of any portions of the Quicunque, and the further argument that of all the numerous quotations which appear even down to the time of Hincmar, none are drawn from any portion beyond verse 26 of our present form, it is warrantable to conclude that this portion of the Quicunque was current at first in a separate form. That a distinction was made between the two subjects which are treated on in the Creed is evident, among other proofs, from the definition of the objects of the Council of Friuli, A.D. 796. It is called[1] "Concilium... "in causâ Sacrosanctæ Trinitatis et Incarnationis Verbi

[1] See Migne, XCIX. 283.

"Divini." When such a marked distinction is made between these subjects of discussion, it can scarcely have been without reason that, about that period, such portions of the Quicunque as can be found are styled "Fides Sanctæ Trinitatis." Had that well-marked section on the Incarnation been added to the early copies, as it is at present, the title of the whole would have been different; if not so full as the definition of the Council just quoted, yet more like the forms which appear at the time when we know the parts to have been combined.

Of the first appearance of that portion of the Quicunque which treats of the Incarnation of our Lord something has already been said. No trace of such a combination of language can be found before the date of the discovery of the Treves fragment by the writer who made the Colbertine copy thereof. The fragment itself is of early date, but the copy cannot be placed anterior in time to A.D. 730, if so early. The readings which were retained in the Quicunque down to the middle of the ninth century, and which may be observed in the Psalter of Charles the Bald, shew clearly that this MS. is the source of the portion of the Creed to which it corresponds. But Denebert's profession was made A.D. 798. The two parts of the Quicunque were therefore not generally known in combination at the end of the eighth century.

This will be made more clear by shewing that at this same period two of the most prominent characters in Western Christendom were unacquainted with the Quicunque as we use it. No persons were more fully conversant with all the movements, literary and ecclesiastic, of the latter part of the eighth century than Charlemagne and his favourite churchman, Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia. The great emperor was most zealous for the encouragement of

all the learning that could be attained in his day. He founded Schools, collected Libraries, gathered around him at Aix such an assemblage of the learned as may well be called an Academy, and entertained there the scholars of every country. He mingled with his characteristic activity in all the ecclesiastical affairs of the Empire, largely increased the revenues of the Church, and interposed so extensively in her affairs that in one year, A.D. 813, no less than five councils were holden by his command on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline.

Of Paulinus, Mr Ffoulkes truly[1] remarks, that he was venerated all the world over for his years and strikingly grave deportment. He was idolized by such men as Alcuin, and even inspired Charlemagne with awe. He was the Episcopal soul of the Council of Frankfort, and president as well as soul of that of Friuli. No movement could have taken place in Italy, France, or Germany, in matters ecclesiastic, nor any document have been set forth of such importance as the Quicunque, that would have escaped the knowledge of these two vigilant spirits.

The Council of Frankfort met A.D. 794. Among other documents which are preserved in the records of its proceedings is a "libellus" put forth by the bishops of Italy, and written, either by or under the guidance of Paulinus himself, against Elipandus, the Bishop of Toledo, who was condemned by this council. A portion of this writing reads thus[2]:

"The Catholic and Apostolic Church confesses that "*the Father should be believed distinct,* because the Father

[1] *Athanasian Creed*, p. 222.

[2] Mansi, XIII. 878. Sancta autem catholica atque apostolica ecclesia confitetur,...ita sane ut alius credatur Pater quia Pater est qui genuit

"is He who begat the Son coeternal with Himself, without "time and without all beginning: and *that the Son should* "*be believed distinct,* because the Son is He who was be- "gotten by the Father without beginning, not by im- "putation but in truth; and *that the Holy Ghost should* "*be believed distinct,* because He is the Holy Ghost and "proceeds from the Father and the Son. *And the Father,* "*the Son and the Holy Ghost are not different in nature,* "*but are inseparably one, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.* "Not one person but one nature, because *there is one* "*person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the* "*Holy Ghost, but the unspeakable Majesty of the Divinity* "*of Father, Son and Holy Ghost is one, equal, consub-* "*stantial and coeternal.* For we confess *an Unity in* "*essence,* but preach *a Trinity in the division of the* "*Persons.* We believe therefore that our Lord Jesus "Christ, the Son of God, very God, was always in the "Father, always with the Father, always by the Father. "For in the last days for us and for our salvation, accord- "ing to the decision of the hidden dispensation, He came "down from heaven whence He never had departed, came

coæternum sibi sine tempore et omni initio Filium: et alius credatur Filius quia Filius est, qui genitus est sine initio a Patre non putative sed vere: et alius credatur Spiritus Sanctus quia Spiritus Sanctus est et a Patre Filioque procedit. Et non est aliud Pater et aliud Filius et aliud Spiritus Sanctus, sed unum sunt inseparabiliter Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, non unus sed unum qui alia est persona Patris alia Filii alia Spiritus Sancti, sed una et æqualis et consubstantialis et coæterna est Patris Filiique et Spiritus Sancti inenarrabilis divinitatis Majestas quia unus est Deus. Unionem namque in essentia confitemur, Trinitatem vero in personarum discretione prædicamus. Dominum igitur nostrum Jesum Christum, Dei Filium, verum Deum, semper in Patre, semper cum Patre, semper credimus apud Patrem. In ultimis namque temporibus propter nos et propter nostram salutem, secundum secretæ dispensationis arbitrium descendit de cælo, unde nunquam recesserat, venit nimirum ubi nun-

"too where He never was absent: was born of the Holy "Ghost and the Virgin Mary, as the Angel said, 'For "'that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.' "He was made very man, according to what is written: "'And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.' "*He continued to be true and Almighty God in both natures,* "*one Son of God and likewise Son of Man. For the* "*human birth has not prejudiced the Divine birth.* He "took that which He was not, He remained essentially "that which He was before, *not having suffered com-* "*mingling or division, but in the one person of Christ there* "*remains true God and true man.* Not two sons, God and "man, but one Son, God and man, not one the son of "man, and the other of God, but one and the same Son "of God and man. Whence also we greatly execrate "those who mutter with impious mouth that He is adop- "tive, because, as we said before, a man cannot be called "adoptive unless he be previously a stranger to him by "whom he desires to be adopted."

Such is the form which an exposition of the faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church assumed in the mouth of the most influential bishop in Europe A.D. 794. And

quam deerat: natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine, dicente angelo: "Quod enim in ea natus est de Spiritu Sancto est." Factus verus homo juxta id quod scriptum est: "Et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis." Permansit verus et omnipotens Deus in utraque natura, unus Dei Filius, idemque hominis filius. Nihil enim humana nativitas divinæ præjudicavit nativitati; assumpsit quod non erat, permansit in id essentialiter quod erat, non commixtionem passus neque divisionem, sed in una persona Christi Deus verus et homo permanet verus. Non duo filii Deus et homo, sed unus Filius Deus et homo, non alius filius hominis et alius Dei, sed unus idemque Dei hominisque Filius. Unde et eos valde execramur qui eum adoptivum impio grunniunt ore quia sicut præfati sumus adoptivus dici non potest nisi is qui prius alienus est ab eo a quo optari desiderat.

this form makes it very apparent that he had no knowledge of a document which would have answered his purpose so well as the Quicunque. He deals both with the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation and puts his expressions on one occasion into the exact language used in the Creed, which language no doubt was current in a separate form long before, but he never attains to anything like the precision which is exhibited in the Creed, and which, had it been known to him, must have commended that work to his use. And there is not to be found the slightest notice of Athanasius in the whole proceedings of the Council.

Yet that some such exposition of the Belief of the whole Church was being aimed at and in part supplied may be seen from the Synodical letter which the bishops of Gaul and Germany addressed to the presidents (præsules) of the Churches in Spain, to which country Elipandus and Felix belonged. They say[1]: "Likewise in the dogma of "the Catholic Faith it is said, Therefore the Son of God "became the Son of man, being born in the truth of nature "from God as Son of God, and in the truth of nature from "man as Son of man, so that the Verity of the Only-be-"gotten might have the name of Son, not by adoption or "title merely, but in the case of each nativity by being born, "so that He might be very God and very man, one Son."

This is an extract from some dogmatic formula to which these bishops could appeal with the expectation that their brethren abroad would accept its teaching,

[1] Mansi XIII. 894. Item in dogmate Catholicæ Fidei: 'Ergo Dei Filius hominis factus est filius, natus secundum veritatem naturæ ex Deo Dei Filius, et secundum veritatem naturæ ex homine hominis filius, ut veritas Unigeniti non adoptione neque appellatione sed in utraque nativitate filii nomen nascendo haberet ut esset verus Deus et verus homo unus Filius.'

but it is not the Quicunque. The bishops therefore who were present at the Council of Frankfort, as well as those to whom they were writing, were, equally with Paulinus, in ignorance of the Creed which we now use, or if not in ignorance they knew it not in a form which had obtained general acceptance. For we cannot believe if our form had been current they would have quoted any other as the exposition of the Catholic Faith.

To complete the evidence of the non-existence or non-acceptance of the Quicunque at the time of this Council, the letter of Charlemagne himself may now be quoted. He too is writing to the bishops of Spain, and he tells them of his exertions, how he has sent to Rome and summoned bishops from Britain to discuss the points in debate. He encloses documents to shew the opinions first of Rome, then of the bishops of Northern Italy, and after that of Gaul, Germany, Aquitania and Britain. To these he adds his own agreement, and after some introduction sets forth his faith. He commences[1]: "We be-"lieve in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven "and earth, of all things visible and invisible. We be-"lieve also in one our Lord"...And thus he continues in the words of the Constantinopolitan Creed to the end of the Article on the Holy Ghost, after which he proceeds thus: "We believe the same Holy Trinity, Father, Son "and Holy Ghost, to be of one substance, one power and "one essence, three Persons, and each single Person in "the Trinity fully God, and all the three persons one God

[1] Mansi, XIII. 905. Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem factorem cœli et terræ, visibilium omnium et invisibilium. Credimus et in unum Dominum nostrum...Credimus eandem Sanctam Trinitatem Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unius esse substantiæ unius potentiæ et unius essentiæ tres personas et singulam quamque in Trinitate personam plenum Deum et totas tres personas unum Deum omnipotentem: Patrem inge-

"Almighty: *the Father unbegotten, the Son begotten, the*
"*Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son.*
"And that the Father had never any beginning, but as
"He is always God, so is He always Father, because He
"always had a Son. *The Father is eternal, the Son eternal,*
"*the Holy Ghost eternal* proceeding from the Father
"and the Son. *Father, Son and Holy Ghost is one God*
"*Almighty,* everywhere present, everywhole wholly God,
"*eternal, ineffable, incomprehensible. In which Holy Trinity*
"*there is no person either later in time, or inferior in degree,*
"*or less in power, but in all things the Son is equal to*
"*the Father, the Holy Ghost equal to the Father and the*
"*Son in Divinity, Will, Operation and Glory. Only*
"*distinct in Person is the Father, distinct in Person is*
"*the Son, distinct in person is the Holy Ghost.* In nature,
"power and essence not distinct but one, being God,
"Father, Son and Holy Ghost. We believe, that out
"of this Trinity the person only of the Son was for the
"salvation of the human race *incarnate of the Holy Ghost*
"*and the Virgin Mary, that He, who was from His Divinity*
"*the Son of God the Father, might also be in humanity*

nitum, Filium genitum, Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio, nec Patrem aliquando cœpisse sed sicut semper est Deus ita semper et Pater est, quia semper habuit Filium. Æternus Pater, æternus Filius, æternus Spiritus Sanctus ex Patre Filioque procedens: unus Deus omnipotens, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ubique præsens, ubique totus Deus æternus ineffabilis incomprehensibilis. In qua Sancta Trinitate nulla est persona vel tempore posterior, vel gradu inferior, vel potestate minor; sed per omnia æqualis Patri Filius, æqualis Patri et Filio Spiritus Sanctus divinitate voluntate operatione et gloria. Alius tantummodo in persona Pater, alius in persona Filius, alius in persona Spiritus Sanctus. Non aliud sed unum natura, potentia, et essentia Deus Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Credimus ex hac Sancta Trinitate Filii tantummodo personam pro salute humani generis de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine incarnatam, ut qui erat de divinitate Dei Patris Filius esset

"*the son of a human mother, in His Divinity perfect God,*
"*in His humanity perfect man,* God before all worlds, man
"in the end of the world, very Son of God in both Sub-
"stances, not putative but true, not by adoption but pos-
"session; One person, God and man, one Mediator be-
"tween God and men; *in the form of God, equal to the*
"*Father, in the form of a servant, less than the Father,*
"in the form of God, the Creator; in the form of a servant,
"the Redeemer. Being in both forms one peculiar and
"perfect Son of God, *He, to fulfil the dispensation of man's*
"*Salvation, suffered* with a true suffering of the flesh, died
"with a true death of His body, rose again by a true
"resurrection of the flesh, and true resuming of the soul,
"and in the same body in which He suffered He also rose
"again, ascended into heaven, sitting on the right hand
"of God the Father, and in the same form in which He
"ascended will come to judge the quick and dead; whose
"kingdom shall have no end. We preach one holy
"Church of God scattered through the whole world, though
"separated in place, united in faith and charity; and
"a true remission of sins in the same Church, either

et in humanitate hominis matris filius. Perfectus in Divinitate Deus, perfectus in humanitate homo, Deus ante omnia sæcula, homo in fine sæculi, verus in utraque substantia Dei Filius, non putativus sed verus, non adoptione sed proprietate, una persona Deus et homo, unus mediator Dei et hominum, in forma Dei æqualis Patri, in forma servi minor Patre, in forma Dei Creator, in forma servi Redemptor. Unus in utroque Dei Filius proprius et perfectus ad implendam humanæ salutis dispensationem passus est vera carnis passione, mortuus vera corporis sui morte, resurrexit vera carnis suæ resurrectione et vera animæ resumptione, et eodem corpore quo passus est et resurrexit, ascendit in cœlos, sedens in dextera Dei Patris, et in eadem forma qua ascendit venturus judicare vivos ac mortuos; cujus regni non erit finis. Prædicamus unam sanctam Dei ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam, locis separatam, fide et caritate conjunctam, et veram remissionem peccatorum in eadem ecclesia sive per

"through baptism or repentance, the Divine grace "giving it, and Man's will cooperating. We also believe "that all men will rise, and each be judged according "to his works, *that the impious are to be condemned "to eternal punishment with the devil and his angels, "but the righteous to be crowned with eternal glory with " Christ and his holy angels for endless ages.*"

" *This is the Catholic Faith* and therefore ours: We "wish it may be yours also."

With these three testimonies of the King, Paulinus and the Bishops before us, all bearing witness to the same point, that, whatever shape the exposition of the Catholic Faith had assumed in their day, it was not that of the Quicunque, it cannot be contended that our present form of that profession was then current in any portion of the Western Church. Italy, Spain, Britain, Germany and Gaul were all represented in the council and were all appealed to, and by no representative of any of these nations is such a form put forward. The presiding spirits are the most learned and the most active men in the whole of Europe, and they know nothing of the Creed of St Athanasius as we now possess it. And yet it was not a document to be hid in a corner, as its subsequent popularity shews, especially in such stirring times, and when topics so fully treated in it were under discussion.

The evidence which presents itself two years later seems to make it still more clear that the Quicunque was unknown to the great minds of the West. The Council

baptismum sive pœnitentiam, divina donante gratia et bona voluntate hominis cooperante. Credimus et omnes homines resurrecturos esse et singulos secundum sua opera judicari, impios æternis suppliciis damnandos cum diabolo et angelis ejus, sanctos vero æterna gloria coronandos cum Christo et sanctis angelis ejus in sæcula sempiterna.

Hæc est fides catholica, et ideo nostra; optamus etiam et vestra.

of Friuli met A.D. 796, and, as we have before said, its assembling was for the discussion of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. The president and summoner of the council was Paulinus, and it is with his speech that we are concerned. After some preamble, in which he observes that his first idea is to set forth "the "very text of the Creed" as a line and rule for the direction of their proceedings, he goes on to consider what the next step is to be. And he would first clear away some objections. "For I know," says he[1], "that in the records "of some Synods it is laid down...that no one may law-"fully teach or frame another Symbol of the Faith. Far "be it from us and far from every faithful heart to frame "or teach another Symbol or Faith or in another manner "than they [the holy Fathers] appointed. But according "to their meaning we have decreed to deliver in exposi-"tion those matters which haply on account of the brief "statement of the truth are less understood by the simple "and unlearned than they ought to be."

Here then is a definite confession of a want which the Quicunque would have supplied. The Symbol by itself is too compendious, it needs exposition, the unlearned and simple do not sufficiently understand it, and for their sakes a longer and more explanatory treatise is to be prepared, adhering to the meaning of the Fathers who put forth the first Creed. In half a century or little more after these words were uttered, it can be shewn that our

[1] Migne xcix. 285. Scio namque quibusdam in synodalibus foliis esse sancitum...non licere cuiquam alterius Fidei Symbolum docere vel componere. Sed absit a nobis proculque sit ab omni corde fideli alterum vel aliter quam illi instituerunt Symbolum vel Fidem componere vel docere. Sed juxta eorum sensum ea fortasse quæ propter veritatis compendium minus quam decet a simplicibus vel indoctis intelliguntur, exponendum decrevimus tradere.

form of the Athanasian Creed was known and used, and looked upon as a most satisfactory exposition of the doctrines in debate at Friuli. Can it be believed that, if it had been known to Paulinus and the Fathers there assembled, they would not have welcomed it as a most excellent comment on the Trinity and the Incarnation, and as the most opportune solution of all their difficulties?

But neither the president nor any of the members give the slightest intimation that they have ever heard of the existence of the Quicunque. Paulinus proceeds in his address, and when he has sufficiently explained his wishes and intentions, he quotes in full the Constantinopolitan Creed, and follows it up with this elucidation of its meaning: "I confess[1] that the holy, perfect, and "inseparable and ineffable and very Trinity, that is Fa- "ther and Son and Holy Ghost, is indivisible in the unity "of its nature, because *God is three and one. Three "namely by distinction of persons, but one by the insepara- "ble substance of the Deity.* We believe therefore that "these three persons of the Father and the Son and "the Holy Ghost are not putative or, as it were, "merely conjectural, but real, subsistent, coeternal, co- "equal, and consubstantial. *For there is one person of "the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost. "But the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are not*

[1] Sanctam autem perfectam et inseparabilem et ineffabilem veramque Trinitatem, id est Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, individuam confiteor in unitate naturæ, quia trinus et unus est Deus. Trinus nimirum per distinctionem personarum: unus vero per substantiam inseparabilem Deitatis. Has igitur tres personas Patris Filiique ac Spiritus Sancti, non putativas vel quasi suspicabiles tantum, sed veras, subsistentes, coæternas, coæquales credimus et consubstantiales. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti. Sed Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus

"*three Gods, but God is one. For the Father, very God,* "is really and properly a Father who begat from himself, "that is from his own substance, irrespective of time and "without any beginning, the true Son coeternal, con- "substantial, and coequal with himself. *And the Son,* "*very God,* is really and properly a Son who before all "worlds was begotten of the Father, irrespective of time "and without any beginning: Light of light, very God of "very God. And the Father never was without the "Son, nor the Son without the Father. For the Father "always is, was, and will be Father, and He never has not "been the Father, because there never has not been the "Son. For the Father is ever, who begat a Son equal to "Himself: the Son is ever, who was begotten equal to the "Father. *For the Holy Ghost, very God,* is really and "properly the Holy Ghost, not begotten nor created, but "proceeding from the Father and the Son without respect "of time and inseparably; He ever is, was, and will be "consubstantial, coeternal, and equal with the Father "and the Son. And never has there been the Father or "the Son without the Holy Ghost, nor the Holy Ghost "without the Father and the Son. And therefore the

non tres dii, sed unus est Deus. Nam Pater verus Deus vere et proprie Pater, qui genuit ex se, id est, ex suâ substantiâ intemporaliter et absque ullo initio verum Filium coæternum consubstantialem et coæqualem sibi. Et Filius verus Deus, vere et proprie est Filius, qui ante omnia sæcula genitus est de Patre intemporaliter et absque ullo initio. Lumen de lumine, Deus verus de Deo vero. Et nunquam fuit Pater sine Filio, nec Filius sine Patre. Pater etenim semper Pater est erat et erit. Et nunquam non fuit Pater, quia nunquam non fuit Filius. Semper enim Pater, qui genuit sibi æqualem Filium, semper quidem Filius, qui genitus est æqualis Patri. Spiritus namque Sanctus verus Deus vere et proprie Spiritus Sanctus est, non genitus nec creatus, sed ex Patre Filioque intemporaliter et inseparabiliter procedens. Consubstantialis coæternus et æqualis Patri Filioque semper est erat et erit. Et nunquam fuit Pater aut Filius sine Spiritu Sancto. Nec Spiritus Sanctus sine Patre et Filio. Et idcirco

"operations of the Trinity are ever inseparable, *and there*
"*is nothing in the Holy Trinity at all differing, or unlike*
"*or unequal. In their nature there is no division, in their*
"*persons no confusion, nothing greater or less. None is*
"*earlier or later, none inferior or superior, but their power*
"*is one and equal, their glory alike, their Majesty everlast-*
"*ing, coeternal, and consubstantial.* For the Father, Son,
"and Holy Ghost are essentially one nature: and on that
"account God is one, but on account of the distinction
"of Persons He is not one, being Father, Son, and Holy
"Ghost. For the very Father is properly a Father, and
"is not the Son, and the very Son is properly a Son, and
"is not the Father: the Holy Ghost is properly the Holy
"Ghost, and is not in Person either Father or Son, but
"proceeds from both, and yet *there are not three Gods,*
"*but God is one.* And in this Holy Trinity nothing at
"all (far be it) is to be deemed of as visible, corporeal,
"palpable, or perceptible. For the Holy Trinity being
"almighty, invisible, incorporeal, impalpable, limitless,
"unconfined, infinite, immeasurable and everlasting, go-
"verns all things by its sway and authority. For although

inseparabilia sunt semper opera Trinitatis, et nihil est in sancta Trinitate diversum aliquod aut dissimile vel inæquale. Non diversum naturaliter, non confusum personaliter, nihil majus aut minus. Non anterior, non posterior, non inferior, non superior, sed una et æqualis potestas, par gloria, sempiterna et coæterna, consubstantialisque majestas. Unum namque sunt essentialiter Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Et idcirco unus est Deus, sed non unus propter personarum discretionem Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Verus enim Pater proprie Pater est, et non est Filius, et verus Filius proprie Filius et non est Pater. Spiritus Sanctus proprie Spiritus Sanctus est, et non est personaliter Pater vel Filius, sed ex utroque procedit, et tamen non sunt tres dii sed unus est Deus. Et in hac sancta Trinitate nihil (quod absit) aliquid putandum est visibile corporale palpabile vel comprehensibile. Omnipotens namque sancta Trinitas, invisibilis, incorporalis, impalpabilis, incomprehensibilis, incircumscripta, infinita, immensa et sempiterna omnia nutu et imperio suo

"we read of the eye of the Lord, or his arm, or his right
"hand, and so on, we ought not to understand thereby,
"in a sound belief of the right Faith, an arrangement of
"members, or a corporeal mass, but the influence of the
"supreme and unutterable divine power. For because
"He sees all things and pervades all, and all things are
"naked and open before Him, He is said to have eyes:
"moreover, because He created us, rules, protects, and
"defends us by His might, He is set forth as having an
"arm or right hand, and there are other similar expres-
"sions. And out of this unspeakable Trinity the sole
"Person of the Word of God, that is the Son, in the last
"days, *for us and for our salvation,* according to the set
"purpose of the secret dispensation, came down from
"heaven, whence he never had departed. He was incar-
"nate of the Holy Ghost and the ever-Virgin Mary, be-
"came very man and remains very God. *Nor has His*
"*human birth in time interfered with His divine birth*
"*irrespective of time,* but in one Person of Christ Jesus,
"He is very Son of God and of man. Not one Son of man
"and another of God, but one and the same Son of God and
"man in both natures, that is divine and human very God

gubernat. Nam etsi legitur oculus Domini vel brachium sive dextra et cetera, non membrorum positionem, vel molem corporis, sed effectum summæ et inenarrabilis divinæ potentiæ, integra rectæ fidei credulitate debemus intelligere. Nam quia omnia videt et omnia penetrat et cuncta nuda et aperta sunt ante eum, oculos habere dicitur, quia vero nos sua virtute creavit, regit, protegit, et defendit, brachium vel dexteram habere perhibetur, et his similia. De hac autem ineffabili Trinitate, sola Verbi Dei Persona, id est, Filius in ultimis diebus propter nos et propter nostram salutem secundum propositum secretæ dispensationis arbitrium descendit de cœlis, unde nunquam recesserat. Incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto, et ex semper virgine Maria verus homo factus est, verusque permanet Deus. Nec obfuit humana et temporalis nativitas divinæ illi et intemporali nativitati, sed in una Christi Jesu persona verus Dei verusque hominis Filius. Non alter hominis filius et alter Dei, sed unus idemque Dei

"and very man: not a Son of God in imputation, but in "truth, not adoptive but real, because He was never, by "reason of the humanity which He assumed, made alien "from the Father. For He alone was born man without "sin, since He alone was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and "the spotless Virgin, a new man: *Consubstantial with "God the Father in His own, that is the divine, nature, "consubstantial also with his mother,* without taint of sin, "*in our, that is, the human nature.* And so in both "natures we confess Him to be the proper, and not the "adoptive Son of God, because, having assumed humanity "without confusion and severance, one and the same is "the Son of God and man; *of the nature of the Father "according to His Divinity, of the nature of His mother "according to His humanity, yet in both belonging to the "Father,* because, as has been said, there are not two "Sons, one of God and another of man, but one Christ "Jesus by reason of the one Person, *Son of God and man; "very God and very man, of a reasonable soul and very "flesh: Perfect man according to His humanity, perfect "God according to His Divinity.* Who in the same, that

hominisque filius in utraque natura, divina scilicet et humana, Deus verus et homo verus. Non putativus Dei Filius sed verus, non adoptivus sed proprius, quia nunquam fuit, propter hominem quem assumpsit, a Patre alienus. Solus enim sine peccato natus est homo, quoniam solus est incarnatus de Spiritu Sancto et immaculata virgine novus homo. Consubstantialis Deo Patri in sua, id est, divina: consubstantialis etiam matri sine sorde peccati in nostra, id est, humana natura. Et ideo in utraque natura proprium eum, et non adoptivum Dei Filium confitemur, quia inconfusibiliter et inseparabiliter, assumpto homine, unus idemque est Dei et hominis Filius. Naturaliter Patri secundum Divinitatem, naturaliter matri secundum humanitatem: proprius tamen Patri in utroque, quoniam sicut dictum est, non sunt duo filii, alter Dei, et alter hominis, sed unus Christus Jesus propter unam personam, Dei et hominis Filius, Deus verus et homo verus in anima rationali et vera carne. Perfectus homo secundum humanitatem, perfectus Deus secundum Divinitatem.

"is, the human nature which He took of the Virgin, bore "human weaknesses but had not the frailty of sin, and "in the same nature He deigned to grow through the "progress of time, to hunger, thirst, be weary, to bear "insults and taunts. He deigned to be scourged, to "undergo crucifixion, to receive the spear in His side, to "be pierced by nails, to taste the gall and vinegar. In "the same nature He deigned to die, to be buried, to "descend into hell, to rise again the third day, to con-"verse with His disciples, and after the triumph of His "conquering glory, by ascending above all heavens, He "placed the same human nature, exalted above all angels, "at the right hand of His Father. In the same nature "He will come again to judge the quick and dead, and "the world by fire, *to render to each according to his "works, namely to the impious, everlasting punishment, "but to the just, life eternal.* And that divine, unspeak-"able nature in which He is God, equal to the Father "and the Holy Ghost, is impassible, immutable, un-"changeable, everywhere present, and ever almighty, con-"tinuing inviolate; in which He reigns in Unity and

Qui in eadem natura, id est humanâ, quam sumpsit ex Virgine, humanas pertulit infirmitates, non fragilitatem peccandi; sed in eadem dignatus est crescere per incrementa temporis, esurire, sitire, fatigari, contumelias et opprobria sustinere. Dignatus est flagellari, crucis patibulum subire, lanceam in latere excipere, clavis transfigi, fel et acetum gustare. In eadem dignatus est mori, sepeliri, ad inferos descendere, tertia die resurgere, cum discipulis conversari: et post triumphum victricis gloriæ eandem humanam naturam ascendendo super omnes cælos exaltatam super omnes angelos in Patris dextera collocavit. In eadem iterum venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem, redditurus unicuique secundum opera sua, impiis utique supplicium sempiternum, justis vero vitam æternam. Divina autem illa ineffabilis natura in qua Deus est æqualis Patri Sanctoque Spiritui impassibilis, immutabilis, inconvertibilis, ubique præsens, semperque omnipotens,

"Trinity with the Father and the Holy Ghost both now "and ever and through all eternity. Amen."

Having thus set forth the needful exposition, the Bishop enjoins on all present, and on all ranks of churchmen, that they shall learn and keep in memory this "Sincerest purity of the Catholic Faith," and at the same time he prescribes that all the laity of both sexes and of all ranks and ages, should learn by heart the Symbol and the Lord's Prayer.

This address is noteworthy on several accounts. It is an endeavour to supply an urgent want, and one for which no other supply was apparent to the author. And following after the exposition of the Faith, set forth by the same prelate at the previous Synod of Frankfort, it shews how expositions on the Catholic Faith were being modelled after this manner. It contains, so to speak, the lines on which the Quicunque is fashioned. Here are many of the propositions of that Creed, though nearly all couched in different words, and here is the fashion of that amplification noticed by the Bishop of St David's. Many attributes and qualities are predicated of the Father, then a repetition of the same and their predication of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Not indeed in the detached way in which each separate predication is dealt with in the Quicunque, but yet evidently a step in the direction of that greater elaboration and distinctness. Nor does the language of Paulinus seem to imply that his own exposition was regarded by him as final. "Exponendum decrevimus tradere" may well mean that he would be glad to welcome other expositors who should be willing to enter on such a task. They

inviolata permanens, in qua regnat in unitate et Trinitate cum Patre, et Sancto Spiritu et nunc et semper et per cuncta sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

certainly intimate that no satisfactory treatise was in existence within the range of Paulinus' observation.

After this we next meet with allusions to portions of the first part of the Creed in writers like Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, and in the letter of the monks of Mount Olivet. But as the separate existence of the two portions of the Quicunque has been established, these quotations, which all come from the earlier verses, prove no more than was already warranted by the profession of Denebert. It is only to be noticed that now the name of Athanasius is mentioned in connection with the quotations made, which mention has not before occurred. For no certainty can be attached to the record of the council of Autun, nor any fixed date given to Regino's *Collections of Articles of Enquiry*, and all other quotations are drawn from what is named "Fides "Catholica." That this name was given to many expositions is clear from the proceedings at Frankfort and Friuli. But it may be that, when the Quicunque was compiled and came to be accepted, the name of Athanasius was applied to it, and this, in its earlier form, such as that of the Muratorian copy at Milan, may perhaps have been known in A.D. 809 to the monks in Palestine. But all this is no more than conjectural.

Down to the time of Paulinus, however, the enquiry seems to have kept to firm ground. Its results may be thus stated. In A.D. 796, the Quicunque was unknown to King Charlemagne, to the patriarch Paulinus, and to the numerous bishops from widely scattered sees, who were assembled to discuss the subject matter of that exposition as a part of the business of the Synod of Frankfort, and as the sole object of that at Friuli. But there were in existence, in separate forms, two documents

which, when combined, constitute the framework of our present Creed, and one of these, the outline of the first half, was in public use in such separate form, as is witnessed by Bishop Denebert's profession, and the frequent quotations which are made from it. The substantial groundwork of the second portion does not seem to have been so widely known or used. But the discussions which were rife in the end of the eighth century were bringing all contributions toward the explanation of the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity into prominent notice, while expositions like those of Paulinus in A.D. 794 and 796 were marking the form which other similar works should take, and which is that of the present Quicunque. But these two summaries do not appear to have been yet united, or to have received those expansions which have brought them into their accepted form. This is at the very close of the eighth century.

But it seems possible to advance one step farther. Evidence exists which makes it very doubtful whether the Quicunque had been compiled even in A.D. 813, and which sets at rest the theory of Dr Waterland that Hilary of Arles may have been its composer. In that year, by order of Charlemagne, a council was assembled at Arles, wherein were discussed the subjects which at that time occupied all ecclesiastical thoughts and pens, the exposition of the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation. Among the documents issued by the Council was a list of Canons, the first of which treats of these matters, and is of a form which it seems hard to believe would ever have been put forth had the Quicunque been known to the members or the summoner of the Council, and which certainly would never have been issued at Arles had Bishop Hilary previously composed our present Creed. The words of the

Canon are the following, where the italicized sentences are of a character similar to the Quicunque:

"According[1] to the divine Scriptures and the doctrine "which we receive from the holy fathers, *we confess that* "*the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are of one God-* "*head and substance; believing in the Trinity in a diversity* "*of persons, we neither confound the persons nor divide the* "*substance. We say the Father is made of none nor be-* "*gotten; we assert that the Son is of the Father, not made* "*but begotten; we profess moreover that the Holy Ghost is* "*neither created nor begotten, but proceeding* from the "Father and the Son. Also that the Lord Jesus Christ "Himself the Son of God, and Creator of all things, born "of the substance of the Father before the worlds, de-"scended from the Father in the last time for the redemp-"tion of the world, seeing He never ceases to be with the "Father. For He was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and "the holy glorious Mary, mother of God, and He one of "the holy Trinity, *the same Lord Jesus Christ*, alone being "born of her, *assuming soul and flesh, a perfect humanity*, "without sin, remaining what He was, assuming what He

[1] Mansi, XIV. 58, Canon 1. Secundum divinas enim Scripturas et doctrinam quam a sanctis patribus accepimus Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unius Deitatis atque substantiæ confitemur, In personarum diversitate Trinitatem credentes, nec personas confundimus nec substantiam separamus. Patrem a nullo factum vel genitum dicimus, Filium a Patre non factum sed genitum asserimus, Spiritum vero Sanctum nec creatum nec genitum sed procedentem ex Patre et Filio profitemur. Ipsum autem Dominum Jesum Christum, Dei Filium et Creatorem omnium ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitum, descendisse ultimo tempore pro redemptione mundi a Patre, qui nunquam desit esse cum Patre. Incarnatus est enim ex Spiritu Sancto et sancta gloriosa Dei genitrice Maria, et natus ex ipsa solus idem Dominus Jesus Christus unus de Sancta Trinitate animam et carnem, perfectum sine peccato suscipiens hominem manens quod erat assumens quod non erat, æqualis

" was not, having in one person the propriety of two " natures (for two natures are in Him, God and man, for " He is not two sons and two Gods, but the same is one " person in both natures), undergoing passion and death " for our salvation, not in the virtue of the Godhead, but " in the infirmity of Manhood. He descended to those " below that He might rescue the saints who were there " detained, and the empire of death being overthrown, He " rose again, then having been received into heaven, He " will come at last to the judgment of quick and dead. " By whose death and blood being purified, we have ob- " tained forgiveness of sins, being about to be raised by " Him at the last day in that flesh wherein we now live, " and in that form in which the same Lord arose, *some to* " *receive from Him for the deserts of their justice eternal* " *life, others for their sins the sentence of eternal punish-* " *ment. This is the faith of the Catholic Church,* this con- " fession we keep and hold, *which whosoever shall most* " *firmly guard, shall have everlasting salvation.*"

In spite then of the allusion of the monks of Olivet to the Creed of St Athanasius, it seems scarcely credible

Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem, habens in una persona duarum naturarum proprietatem (naturæ enim in illo duæ, Deus et homo: non enim duo filii et Dei duo sed idem una persona in utraque natura) perferens passionem et mortem pro nostra salute non in virtute Divinitatis sed in infirmitate humanitatis. Descendit ad inferos, ut sanctos qui ibidem tenebantur erueret, devictoque mortis imperio resurrexit, assumptus deinde in cœlos venturus est in finem ad judicium vivorum et mortuorum. Cujus morte et sanguine mundati, peccatorum remissionem consecuti sumus, resuscitandi ab eo in die novissimo, in ea qua nunc vivimus carne et in ea qua surrexit idem Dominus forma, percepturi ab ipso alii pro justitiæ meritis vitam æternam, alii pro peccatis supplicii æterni sententiam. Hæc est Catholicæ Ecclesiæ fides, hanc confessionem servamus, atque tenemus; quam quisquis firmissime custodierit perpetuam salutem habebit.

that they could have possessed more than the first portion from which their quotation is made. They were peculiarly favoured by the emperor, and were not unlikely to be put in possession of all important ecclesiastical documents with which he was acquainted. Would he not also have communicated to the Council specially summoned by him, a document so helpful as the Quicunque would have proved to the composers of this first Canon? It cannot be doubted that he would. It was then because it was unknown to him that no notice is taken of it in the proceedings at Arles. In that case it may be almost certainly concluded that it had not been compiled, and that the monks possessed merely the portion which was for a long time the best known, and from which their argument is drawn. The name of Athanasius was attached, if this be so, to the first section of the Creed before the combination of the two documents into one.

Our enquiries must now pass to a time when the present Creed was certainly known, and by an investigation carried backwards from that date as far as possible, the period in which the Quicunque must have been compiled will be reduced to the narrowest compass which the evidence admits of. The interval over which the investigation leaps is not a great one. By the time that three quarters of the ninth century had elapsed, there is evidence that the exposition which was to supersede all others, had been set forth and accepted. In a Prayer Book of Charles the Bald, written about A.D. 870, the Athanasian Creed is found, as nearly as possible, in the very words which we now use. An inspection of the various readings given in the Appendix to this Chapter, will shew how slight the differences are. The Quicunque, then, had not only been compiled, but had by this time

made itself reputation enough to be included in the service-books. If twenty years be allowed for this gaining of acceptance, the date is carried back to the middle of the century, *i.e.* A.D. 850.

But in two other MSS. of the Creed, the one at Milan, and the other the St German's MS. at Paris, the variations are somewhat more numerous. They are not startling, but yet enough to mark earlier stages in the history of the compilation. If a quarter of a century be assigned for the period during which these slight alterations were being introduced, it seems to be amply sufficient. A comparison of the later history of the formation of the Apostolic Creed will illustrate how such changes come in little by little. Thus we may with some degree of certainty narrow the limits of the period during which the parts of the Quicunque were first combined, to the quarter of a century from A.D. 800—825, and most probably after A.D. 813. The lapse of twenty or thirty years smoothed down the rough places of the earlier copies, or gave more force, as was supposed, to one or two expressions. The work thus refined soon made itself a name, and within twenty years more found its way into the Prayer Books. It seems however to be too hasty an acceptance to suppose, as Dr Swainson does, that the finishing move in the completion of the Creed was made by Hincmar, A.D. 870, and that in the same year it was included among the contents of Charles the Bald's Prayer Book. The analogy of the increments of the Apostolic Creed is in favour of a slower development.

The question of its composer will probably ever remain doubtful, though there can be little question that we owe it to one of the active ecclesiastics of the early part of the ninth century. But whether it were Paulinus, as Mr Ffoulkes decides; or Alcuin, who is proved by Dr Swainson[1] to have made much use in his other works of that quotation from St Augustine which now forms verse 36 of the Quicunque, but was not in the Treves fragment; or Hincmar, to whom Dr Swainson seems himself most to incline, will perhaps never be ascertained. But as Paulinus and Alcuin both died A.D. 804, it is improbable that the compilation is due to either of those divines, otherwise it would have received all acknowledgement from Charlemagne. Yet, interesting as the discovery of the author would certainly be, it is not of great importance when we are considering the doctrine which the Creed contains. As Dr Waterland has shewn by his list of parallel passages, the substance of the greatest part of what has been added to the more brief originals, may be found in the works of Augustine; and Dr Swainson has pointed out[2] that Hincmar quotes some of the clauses from Sophronius. But it is worthy of notice, in the midst of the controversy which at present exists on this subject, that the parallels quoted by Waterland for verses 2, 26 and 40 (the damnatory or admonitory clauses to which most exception has been taken) are couched in language of a far different tone from that of the words of the Creed. Take the last verse for an instance. In the Creed we have, "This is the Catholic Faith, which except "a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved." To this the best parallel from Augustine which is produced runs thus[3]:—"Take heed, dearly beloved, lest any one seduce "you from the faith and unity of the Catholic Church. "For let him, who preaches to you otherwise than as ye "have received, be Anathema."

[1] *Formation of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 37.
[2] *Id.* p. 88. [3] Waterland, chap. ix. ad finem.

This want of parallelism is important when we recollect that in the profession of Denebert, which is the earliest form we have of the first part of the Creed, our present second verse—"Which Faith except every one "do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall "perish everlastingly"—is not found; while in the Treves MS., the basis of the latter half of the Quicunque, instead of the final verse as it at present stands, there is the following:—"This is the true and Catholic Faith, which "every man who desires to attain to eternal life, ought to "know thoroughly and guard faithfully." In such a period as that to which we have assigned the date of the compilation of the Creed, the fiercer expressions which it contains would find ready acceptance. And this very tone of the language is no small indication of the time to which its composition ought to be referred.

The points which this investigation seems to have established may be put summarily thus:

i. Before A.D. 809 there is no trustworthy notice of any confession called by the name of St Athanasius.

ii. Before that date two separate compositions existed which form the groundwork of the present Quicunque.

iii. That for some time after that date all quotations are made only from the former of these compositions.

iv. That the Quicunque was not known down to A.D. 813, to those who were most likely to have heard of it had it been in existence.

v. That it is found nearly as we use it A.D. 870.

vi. A comparison of the various MSS. shews that, after the combination of the two parts, the text was for some time in an unsettled or transition state.

On every ground therefore both of internal and external evidence it seems to be a sound conclusion that somewhere between A.D. 813—850 the Creed was brought nearly into the form in which we now use it; that before the earlier of these dates it was not known, but that in Gaul at least it gained general acceptance soon after the middle of the ninth century, and that the strong expressions of its warning clauses are to be traced to the fierce contests which at that period agitated the whole ecclesiastical world.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

The Quicunque, with the various readings of the MSS.

A. marks the Colbertine fragment.
B. the Ambrosian MS.
C. the St German's MS.
D. the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald.
E. the Utrecht Psalter.
F. Galba. A. xviij. Br. Mus.
G. Vesp. A. i. ——
H. Reg. 2. B. v. ——

Fides Sancti Athanasii.

1 Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem.

2 Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit.

3 Fides autem Catholica hæc est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur:

4 Neque confundentes Personas, neque Substantiam separantes.

5 Alia est enim Persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

6 Sed Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, una est Divinitas, æqualis Gloria, coæterna Majestas.

7 Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus.

Titulum habet H. *Hymnus Athanasii, de Fide Trinitatis, quem tu concelebrans discutienter intellige.*

1 1—27 deest in A: salvus esse, *esse salvus* B: ante *ut* add. *enim* H.

2 quisque, *quis* B: inviolatamque, *inviolabilemque* C: in æternum peribit, *peribit in œternum* C: ad fin. vers. habet H, *Incipit de Fide.*

4 *confundantes* H.

5 alia Filii, *alia persona Filii* B: alia Sp. s., *alia persona Sp. s.* B.

8 Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus Sanctus.

9 Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus et Spiritus Sanctus.

10 Æternus Pater, æternus Filius, æternus et Spiritus Sanctus.

11 Et tamen non tres æterni, sed unus æternus.

12 Sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus, et unus immensus.

13 Similiter, Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus.

14 Et tamen non tres Omnipotentes, sed unus Omnipotens.

15 Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus.

16 Et tamen non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus.

17 Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus.

18 Et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.

19 Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque Personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur; ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere Catholica religione prohibemur.

20 Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus.

21 Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus.

22 Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus est, sed procedens.

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12 Unus increatus et unus immensus, *un. im. et un. incr.* B.

14 Et tamen, deest *tamen* in B.

16 est Deus, deest *est* in B.

18 est Dominus, deest *est* in B.

19 Et Deum, deest *et* in C, F, G, H: prohibemur, *prohibemus* B.

22 Sed procedens, Hic addit B, *Patri et Filio coæternus est.*

23 Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres Spiritus Sancti.

24 Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus, sed totæ tres Personæ coæternæ sibi sunt, et coæquales.

25 Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, et Unitas in Trinitate, et Trinitas in Unitate veneranda sit.

26 Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.

27 Sed necessarium est ad æternam Salutem, ut Incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.

28 Est ergo Fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus pariter et Homo est.

29 Deus est ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitus: Homo, ex substantia Matris in sæculo natus.

30 Perfectus Deus, perfectus Homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.

31 Æqualis Patri secundum Divinitatem: minor Patre secundum Humanitatem.

32 Qui licet Deus sit et Homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.

33 Unus autem, non conversione Divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione Humanitatis in Deum.

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24 Et in hac, deest *et* in C.

25 *Et Tr. in Unit., et Un. in Trin.* H.

27 Incipit fragmentum A. *Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat. unusquisque*, ante *fideliter* add. G.

28 confiteamur quia, *quod* B. Deus pariter et Homo est, *et D. p. e. H. e.* B, C: *pariter* om. E, F.

29 Ex substantia: *de substantia* A, D, F, bis. Homo, *et homo est* B, E, F: *in sæcula natus* H.

30 rationali, *rationabili* A, B, D.

31 Minor Patre, *minor Patri* A, E, F.

33 in carnem, *in carne* A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H: in

34 Unus omnino, non confusione Substantiæ, sed unitate Personæ.

35 Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est Homo; ita Deus et Homo unus est Christus.

36 Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.

37 Adscendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Patris; inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.

38 Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem.

39 Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam æternam, qui vero mala, in ignem æternam.

40 Hæc est Fides Catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter, firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

Deum, *in Deo* A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H: conversione, *conversatione* C: in A legitur versus, *Unus autem non ex eo quod sit in Carne conversa Divinitas, sed quia est in Deo adsumpta dignanter humanitas.*

35 Versum om. A: rationalis, *rationabilis* B.

36 Qui passus e. p. salute, *qui secundum fidem nostram passus et mortuus* A: ad inferos, *ad infernos* C: *ad inferna* A: *tertia die*, deest in B, C, D, F.

37 sedet, *sedit* B, E: dexteram Patris, addit *Omnipotentis* C: *Dexteram Dei Patris sedet, sicut vobis in Symbolo traditum est* A: *Dexteram Dei P. Omnipotentis* D, E, G, H.

38 Resurgere habent cum corp. suis, desunt in B: *ad cujus adventum erunt omnes homines sine dubio in suis corporibus resurrecturi* A.

39 Egerunt, *egerint* B: in A legitur versus, *Ut qui bona egerunt eant in v. æt. qui mala in ign. æt.* Qui vero, *et qui vero* D, H: *et qui mala* E, F.

40 Quisque, *unusquisque* B: in A legitur versus, *Hæc est fides vera et catholica, quam omnis homo qui ad vitam æternam pervenire desiderat, scire integre debet, et fideliter custodire.*

CHAPTER V.

"OF THE RECEPTION AND USE OF THE QUICUNQUE."

In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique quod semper quod ab omnibus creditum est.

Vincentius Lirinensis, *Common. prim.* c. 2.

It is clear from what has been already advanced that our Athanasian Creed was first promulgated and first gained acceptance in Gaul. This point is attested by the sources from which both the earliest ancient testimonies and comments are drawn, as well as by the MSS. in which the Quicunque occurs. Of these last, ten out of the twenty-five brought forward by Waterland are of Gallican origin; while five of the thirteen ancient comments which the same writer mentions, and seventeen ancient testimonies out of thirty-six, are also drawn from Gallican authorities[1]. And when it is considered with what earnestness Charlemagne and his successors regarded all affairs ecclesiastical, it does not appear necessary to allow a long time to elapse from the date of its composition before the Creed may be presumed to have been of general acceptance in Gaul. Such acceptance need hardly be fixed at a later date than A.D. 870, the time when the Quicunque is found in Charles the Bald's Prayer Book. It may have been received into use, as we have before allowed, at a somewhat earlier period. But it is very

[1] See the lists in Waterland, pp. 56, 88, and 120.

doubtful whether it was known to Hatto, bishop of Basle A.D. 820, or to the monks of Mt. Olivet A.D. 809. The quotation made by the latter does not enable us to speak with any certainty, though the title which they use, and which is also given in Bishop Hatto's Constitutions, seems to mark the time when the combination of the two parts of the Quicunque had taken place, and when the ascription to Athanasius had become common. It will be enough however to date its reception in Gaul as taking place between A. D. 820 and 850 at the earliest.

From the close connexion between France and Germany at this period it is natural to expect that the latter country would be acquainted with the composition almost as soon as the former. Accordingly we find in Lambecius[1] an account of a German translation of the Quicunque written by Otfrid, a monk of Weissenburg, who flourished A.D. 870. We need not give quite so early a date as this to the version, for it may have been made towards the end of the author's life, but it shews that Germany received the new exposition almost as soon as France. That translations from the Latin into the various vernaculars would soon be made, may be inferred from Hincmar's language to his presbyters, whom he enjoins to learn the "Sermo Athanasii," and understand it, that they may be able to set it forth—*verbis communibus*—in the ordinary language of their hearers. A. D. 870 will therefore not be far from the correct date of the acceptance of the Creed by Germany.

If the composition of the Quicunque were a result, as is most probable, of the exertions and promptings of Paulinus, it cannot be doubted that the northern parts of Italy, in which his own see was situated, would early be

[1] Lamb. *de Biblioth. Vindobon.*, Vol. II. 260 and 760.

made acquainted with the confession. It is not however till the time of Ratherius, who was bishop of Verona A. D. 928, that we meet with any direct trace of it in that district. But the language which he employs concerning it is such as to shew that it had long been of standing use. In a synodical letter to his clergy he joins[1] the Athanasian with the Apostolic and Nicene Creeds, and directs that they shall all alike be learnt by heart. This Creed may therefore be fairly inferred to have been current in North Italy by the year A. D. 900, though, as we shall see, it was not accepted in Rome until a somewhat later period.

In England, if the date which has been assigned to the Psalter of King Athelstan[2] be nearly correct, the Creed was accepted almost as early as in any other country. Nor is this to be wondered at when it is remembered how intimately our own country was connected, through Alcuin and Erigena, with the literary distinctions of the courts of both Charlemagne and Charles the Bald. This close intercommunication is a good ground for believing that the Quicunque would have come into use in England by A. D. 870, and the same date may be assigned to its introduction into Spain, and for a similar reason. The intimate correspondence between France and Spain which is seen at the time of the Adoptionist controversy is not likely to have fallen off in any degree during the half century of debate which succeeded thereto, and Waterland has given evidence of the employment of the Gallican Psalter in Spain at a very early date.

When we come to Rome the case is different. As with the Apostolic and the interpolated Nicene Creeds, so here the other branches of the Western Church had

[1] Waterland, p. 41. [2] Vide p. 219.

accepted the new form of profession for some time before it met with equal favour in the Papal city. We know from Thomas Aquinas, A. D. 1250, that in his day this Creed was accepted in the Roman Church, and on the Papal authority[1]. But in the days of Innocent III. (A. D. 1198—1216) it does not seem to have been treated in that Church as one of the Creeds. This pope, writing on the twelve articles of each Creed, uses[2] the expression "as well of the Apostolic as of the Constantinopolitan "Creed," implying thereby, as it seems, that to these two alone did he apply the title of Creed. If we therefore assign the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century for the reception of the Quicunque into the use of the Roman Church, we shall not perhaps be greatly in error.

Its acceptance in the Greek Church was at even a later date than this; and perhaps the first mention of the Creed in connexion with that Church occurs in the controversy on the Procession, and was not before A. D. 1200.

Very little time then will cover the whole period between the original compilation of the Creed and its acceptance in the largest part of the Western Church, while Rome was perhaps three centuries behind the rest of the West in admitting the Creed to a place in her services.

But it should be borne in mind that the reception of the Quicunque was at first, and for a considerable period, only as an exposition of the doctrines of the lesser Creed, and for the use of the Clergy, not as

[1] See Waterland, p. 162.
[2] Innocent III. *De Sacro altaris Mysterio*, II. 50. Migne, CCXVII. 827.

a profession of faith put into the mouths of the whole congregation. That this was the intention of that composition of which the Treves MS. formed part, is evident from the language of the fragment preserved to us. "According to our Faith Christ suffered[1]" is its expression, and "Fides" meant the Creed when this was written. And again, "He sitteth at the right hand of God the "Father, as has been delivered to you in the Symbol;" where we see that this fragment contains part of an address delivered on the solemn occasion of the "Traditio "Symboli[2]." And when it came into combination with the earlier verses, which make it a complete treatise on the Trinity and Incarnation, the service to which it was at first devoted was clearly of the like nature. Whether our testimony be drawn from France, Germany, or Italy, it all speaks the same language. Whatever date we may assign to the Canon of the Council of Autun, it is good evidence for shewing the use to which the Creed was put, and who were the persons that were expected to understand it: "If any Priest, Deacon, Subdeacon, or Clerk "have not faultlessly conned the Faith of the holy Bishop "Athanasius, let him be condemned by the bishop[3]." This *Fides* was a portion of the clerical education, but not a composition for congregational use. Churchmen were to study it that they might by its aid the better explain the doctrines which it was their duty to teach their hearers. Regino's Articles of Enquiry shew that in Germany it was put to the same employment. Of the Clergy it is to be asked whether each "knows by heart

[1] See ante p. 215. [2] See p. 12.

[3] "Si quis Presbyter, Diaconus, Subdiaconus, vel Clericus.....Fidem "Sancti Athanasii præsulis irreprehensibiliter non recensuerit, ab Epis- "copo condemnetur." Harduin, III. 1016, quoted by Waterland.

"the discourse of Bishop Athanasius concerning the Faith "of the Holy Trinity[1]." And here the use of the word "Sermo" in the description of the work which is to be learnt by heart is sufficient to prove in what light that work was regarded. It was a treatise or exposition, but had not yet been elevated into a Creed. From Italy, Ratherius, bishop of Verona, speaks to the same point, and in almost the same words, at a period subsequent to A. D. 955. With him the Quicunque is still a "Sermo." In his instructions to his clergy he exhorts each "to hold "in memory that treatise of Saint Athanasius which "commences with *Quicunque vult*[2]." But evidently it was an instruction for themselves and a help in teaching rather than a Symbol, which name he gives in the same passage to the Nicene and Apostolic Creeds.

The proceedings of the council of Friuli quoted in the last chapter[3] shew the reason why Paulinus desired such an explanation of the Catholic Faith for the use of the Church. It was that the clergy might have a standard textbook. Hatto in A.D. 820, and Hincmar in A.D. 852, whatever they included under the title of the "Faith of Athanasius" or "Athanasius' treatise on Faith," confine the study of the work, the former to the "Sacerdotes," the the latter to "Unusquisque Presbyterorum." Riculphus, bishop of Soissons A. D. 889, recommends it as a "Sermo" in his pastoral charge. These testimonies[4] are all from Gaul, and from the same country is derived the first

[1] Si sermonem Athanasii Episcopi de Fide Sanctæ Trinitatis..... memoriter teneat. Regino, *de Discip. Eccl.* I.

[2] Illum Sancti Athanasii (quæ ita incipit: *Quicunque vult*) Sermonem .....memoriter teneat. Ratherius quoted by Waterland, p. 41.

[3] P. 240.

[4] Vid. Waterland, pp. 37, 38, 41.

notice of the introduction of the Creed into the Services of the Church. In Bishop Hatto's Constitutions the Quicunque is to be recited every Lord's Day at prime. Honorius, a divine belonging to the Church of Autun A.D. 1130, mentions that the Creed was used in his time daily at Prime, which evidence is supported about fifty years later (A.D. 1178) by that of Robertus Paululus, a presbyter of Amiens; but his language is such as to induce us to believe that the introduction of its daily use was of recent origin when he wrote[1]. He is speaking of the Services recited at Prime and writes: "Hereunto the "devotion of the faithful has added the *Quicunque vult*, so "that at no hour of the day may we forget the articles "of the Faith which are necessary to Salvation." Such words would not have been employed had the practice of reciting the Creed at this hour been at that time of long standing.

Turning to Germany, we find the use which has been already noticed in Regino's Articles confirmed in a most solemn manner by Anscharius, the Archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, A.D. 865. "When his death was near," we read, "he urged on his brethren (*i.e.* the clergy) the

[1] That "prime" was a service introduced by and for the clergy and monastic bodies, and wherein accordingly the Quicunque might well be used, so that constant employment of the words might impress the language on the memory, will be seen by the following account of that service from Migne's *Encyclopédie Théologique* (Tom. 34, col. 1175).

L'heure de prime est la première de l'office du jour; on en rapporte l'institution aux moines de Bethléem, et Cassien en fait mention dans ses Institutions de la Vie Monastique, liv. 3. c. 4. Il appelle cet office *matutina solemnitas*, parce qu'on le disait au point du jour ou après le lever du soleil; c'est ce que nous apprend l'hymne attribuée a Saint Ambroise: "*Iam lucis orto sidere etc.*" Cassien l'appelle aussi *novella solemnitas*, parce que c'était une pratique encore récente, et il ajoute qu'elle passa bientôt des monastères d'Orient dans ceux des Gaules.

"recital of the Catholic Faith composed by the blessed "Athanasius[1]."

From Italy as late as A.D. 1250 we have the weighty testimony of Thomas Aquinas that the original design of the composition was not that of a Symbol, though it was in his day received as a Rule of Faith by the Papal authority[2]. And nearly at the same time in England two bishops, Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester and Walter de Kirkham of Durham, in their Synodical Constitutions, while recommending the study of the Quicunque to their Clergy, are agreed in styling it "a Psalm," which name places it in a very different position from that occupied by the Symbols which they speak of respectively as "the "greater" and "the less."

There is therefore not a particle of authority in the early times of the history of the Quicunque for the congregational use to which it was ultimately put in the Church of England. What that was in our own country we may see at the time of the Reformation, from the Primer of Hilsey Bishop of Rochester, put forth A.D. 1539. This Manual of Private Devotion was designed for general use and for the instruction of the young, and in it the first part contains, before any other matter, "The symbol "or Creed of the great Doctor Athanasius, daily read in "Church." In the English Church, therefore, before A.D. 1549 it was the use to say at some time every day in the public service this symbol or creed, a practice which has never obtained elsewhere. In the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth (A.D. 1549) the Rubric diminishes this use in very great degree, for therein the recital of the Creed in Church is confined to six great Festivals, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension-day, Pentecost

[1] Waterland, p. 89. [2] Ibid. p. 49.

and Trinity Sunday. This immense diminution in the use of the Creed from 365 times in a year to 6 is a sign that the Reformers felt that too great prominence had been given to it by daily use in the services; and their treatment of the Creed deserves to be borne in mind, when the conduct of those who advocate some change at the present day is compared unfavourably with that of the Church of the sixteenth century. At the compilation of the first Prayer Book of Edward VIth, six recitals in a year were deemed enough, and only half of these were necessarily on the Sunday.

To these were added, in A. D. 1552, the feasts of St Matthias, St John the Baptist, St James, St Bartholomew, St Matthew, St Simon and St Jude, St Andrew, making the whole number of repetitions in the year up to thirteen, which days and number continued unchanged in the several revisions of A. D. 1559, 1604, and 1662. In the last-mentioned revision at the Savoy Conference the title was enlarged, and the Creed was described as "the Con-"fession of our Christian Faith, commonly called The Creed "of St Athanasius," while in the earlier Rubrics no name of the author had been given.

Of the various works which from time to time between A. D. 1642—1720 were written on the subject a very complete account is given in the first chapter of Dr Waterland's treatise. Only five persons of those who wrote during that period incline to ascribe the authorship of the Creed to Athanasius, and none of these is accounted by Waterland as an authority of importance. The agreement of all the rest on the subject of the original language, and that this was Latin, is complete. On the question of the author to whom they refer the work there is some difference. Vigilius Tapsensis, Athanasius of Spire, Vincentius

Lirinensis, Pope Anastasius I. and Venantius Fortunatus, have each their supporters among those who hazard any opinion upon the authorship, but several are content without giving such opinion, only deciding that the Creed is not the work of Athanasius. The conjecture of Dr Waterland that Hilary of Arles was the composer is put forward on what must, even to the proposer, have seemed very slight grounds, and which no one since his time has come forward to support.

But very recently the question of the use of the Athanasian Creed has been brought into great prominence, and no doubt the opinions publicly expressed thereon were the cause of certain proposals which the recent Ritual Commission made in their fourth Report. These proposals were, after their publication, referred by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the consideration of Convocation. The Lower House of Convocation has by large majorities affirmed that the Creed ought to be maintained in its integrity, and that no alteration should be made in the times and manner of its use in the Church. But the discussion of the question still continues, and an endeavour has lately been made to procure an expression of opinion from the most educated and influential of the Laity in the Church. The point on which greatest stress has been laid is, that many persons do not believe in the plain grammatical sense of those portions of the Quicunque known as the damnatory, admonitory or warning clauses, and therefore object to the use of them in a solemn profession of Faith. The language of the Creed is couched in universal propositions, the objectors urge, and yet the statements contained therein are only true when made subject to many limitations and exceptions. It is further argued that those

members of congregations who are unlearned are almost certain to understand the words in a sense different to that in which the advocates of the Creed would explain them, or wish them to be understood. These objections are supported by the authority of names greatly and justly honoured in the Church of England. Jeremy Taylor, Chillingworth, Richard Baxter, Archbishops Tillotson, Wake and Secker, Bishop Burnet, Dean Prideaux, the late Professor Burton, Dr Arnold and Bishop Lonsdale, form no mean array of intellect and judgment with which to support any opinion; and it will be seen by a reference to the fourth Report of the Ritual Commission, above alluded to, how numerous are those persons, both cleric and lay, and how widely differing in theological opinions, who alike feel a scruple about the use of the Creed as it at present stands.

It is difficult to see how the discussion to which this subject has given rise will terminate, and the spirit which in some quarters has been engendered by the controversy makes the present time unfavourable for any satisfactory settlement, and yet the question has been put so prominently before the public that it is hardly probable that it will be allowed to die away without some action being taken in the matter.

The principal proposals which have been made during the debate are the following. (i) That a revision should be made of the original text, and a new translation of the Creed put forth by authority. And no doubt it is very important that all translated matter should be made as perfectly to represent the original as may be, and as scholarship advances or our language changes, revised translations should be put forth to keep pace with these advances and changes. This principle has been sanctioned by

the Committee of Convocation under which the two Companies are now engaged on the revision of the Authorized Version of the Bible. But a revised translation of the Quicunque would not meet the objections raised against it. No revision could make the clauses to which exception is taken speak a language different from what they now do, and though some expressions might perhaps be improved by retranslation the universal propositions must still remain in any version whatsoever.

(ii) Another proposal is to omit the damnatory clauses altogether, making the use of the rest of the Creed compulsory. To this has been added by some, that the minister should first read our Lord's words in St Mark xvi. 15, 16, that more solemnity might thus be given to the recital of the abridged Creed. Dr Swainson has pointed out more than once[1], that the clauses objected to were in former times regarded only as the setting or framework in which other words than those of the Quicunque might be placed. He has quoted from the Sarum Manual a portion of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, in which all these clauses occur, though the Catholic Faith to which they are therein attached is utterly different from the Athanasian Creed. The same writer has also pointed out a MS.[2] in the British Museum in which after the two initiatory verses, which contain one portion of the clauses to which objection is taken, there is the remarkable note attached in gold letters, "Incipit de Fide," shewing that by the writer the previous sentences were not regarded as forming any portion of the Faith. This proposition has much to recommend it, and has met with some support. As the repetition of the Creed is a personal

[1] See, *On the Formation of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 17.
[2] Bibl. Reg. 2. B. v.

matter, it seems not unreasonable that the person using it should be excused from expressing any opinion about others. But it is not probable, though it be sanctioned by ancient testimony, that these clauses will now be treated as separable.

(iii) Some have advocated the omission of the Rubric preceding the Athanasian Creed, and the alteration of that before the Apostles' Creed. This is the plan of those who desire that the Quicunque should not be removed from its place in the Prayer Book, but who wish it only to remain as a document to be studied, and not to be used in the services. And they urge this method of dealing with the question because they would shew no disrespect to the Creed itself, but would discontinue its public use because they fail to see that the recital of such a profession can be impressive in our congregations wherein the greater proportion of the members scarcely understand anything of its meaning.

(iv) Another plan suggested is to leave the rubric unaltered, but to allow the omission of the damnatory clauses, with or without the reading of St Mark xvi. 15, 16, to such congregations as desire that omission. This is open to the difficulty, which besets all optional arrangements, of settling satisfactorily with whom the option shall rest. If it be with the Clergyman the congregation may complain, and *vice versa*, and if with the Bishop it would in all probability not be satisfactory to both clergy and people. This seems to be an insurmountable obstacle in the way of any such arrangement.

(v) Again, some would read "may" for "shall" in the rubric before the Apostles' Creed, arguing that it is more satisfactory, where there is a difference of opinions, to use for congregational purposes a Creed to which all

assent, than to continue the enforced use of one against which some raise objections.

(vi) The use of the Athanasian Creed in Parish Churches appearing to many the great feature of the difficulty, it has been proposed to omit it there, but to allow (though without enforcing) it to be said in Collegiate Chapels and Cathedral Churches, these being places in which there are congregations whose education would enable them to understand the sense in which the language of the Quicunque is to be accepted.

(vii) Others would have the use of it restricted to one Sunday in the year, viz. Trinity Sunday.

(viii) Others, to special or occasional services, such as are contemplated in the recent Bill for amending the Act of Uniformity. Both these proposals lose sight of the fact, that it is not to the number of times which the Creed is used that the objections have been raised, but to the language in which some portion of it is couched.

(ix) Another proposal has been to substitute for the second verse "Which faith except every one do keep whole "and undefiled without doubt he shall perish everlast-"ingly," some such words as these: "Which faith if a man "do keep whole and undefiled without doubt he shall be "saved;" and to change in a similar manner the last verse, "This is the Catholic Faith, which except a man "believe faithfully he cannot be saved," into "This is the "Catholic Faith, which if a man believe faithfully he shall "be saved." The advocates of this change plead that in the Treves MS., this was somewhat the form of the latter clause, and that therefore they may claim greater antiquity for this mode of expression than for that now used.

(x) Some, again, maintaining that it was the use of

our Church from A. D. 1549—1662 to say or sing the Quicunque as a hymn or canticle after the Benedictus *in addition to* and not *instead of* the Apostles' Creed, advocate a return to this as the most ancient use of the English Reformed Church.

(xi) But the suggestion which has met with most supporters in Convocation and on the Ritual Commission has been that which advocates either a Synodical Declaration, or a note, to be added to the present Rubric before the Creed, explanatory of the sense in which the damnatory clauses are to be understood[1]. Many forms for this note have been suggested[2], and one is at present under

[1] This was also proposed by the Commissioners of 1689, who suggested a rubric "that the condemning clauses are to be understood as relating "only to those who obstinately deny the *substance* of the Christian "faith."

[2] A note proposed by some of the Bishops to the late Ritual Commission, but not adopted, states:

"That no words in this Creed are to be understood as pronouncing "sentence of eternal condemnation on those who do not hold every one "of its separate propositions, or through involuntary ignorance even "the Catholic Faith itself, but as solemnly warning of their peril those "who, having been called into a state of salvation, wilfully renounce the "Catholic Faith."

Another form was: "That the clauses which declare the necessity "of a right belief to eternal salvation, are not to be understood "as excluding from salvation those who through involuntary ignorance "or misapprehension do not receive aright the truth of God, but those "only who through a perverse will reject it in whole or in part."

The Oxford Divinity professors wished for the following form: "Nothing in this Creed is to be understood as condemning those who "by involuntary ignorance or invincible prejudice are hindered from "accepting the Faith therein declared.

The Bishop of Lincoln proposed the following declaration: "This "House of Convocation declares that no clauses in this Creed are to "be regarded as the language of private persons pronouncing their 'judgment on the salvability of others: but in it the Church of Christ "publicly discharges a solemn duty laid upon her by Almighty God

consideration. To this method of dealing with the difficulty there arises, first, the objection that a Synodical declaration would have no meaning to the laity, who feel themselves concerned in the matter quite as much as the clergy. And further it is urged, and with reason as it seems, that a public profession of Faith ought to bear its plain sense on the face of it, and need no note. It cannot be pleaded that in a similar case a note is added in the Rubrics after the Communion Service to explain the pos-

"of openly warning those of their danger who wilfully reject the fundamental "Articles of the Christian Faith, which are rehearsed in this "Creed: which, as the Church of England testifies in the VIIIth Article, "ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for it may be proved by "most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."

The note put forward in the Commissioners' Report, though many of the members dissented from it, was of this form: "The condemnations "in this Confession of Faith are no otherwise to be understood than as "a solemn warning of those who wilfully reject the Catholic Faith."

The latest form of Synodical declaration which has been under the consideration of Convocation is (*Guardian*, May 14, 1873):

"For the removal of doubts and to prevent disquietude in the use "of the Creed commonly called The Creed of St. Athanasius doth "solemnly declare:

"(1) That the confession of our Christian Faith commonly called "The Creed of St. Athanasius doth not make any addition to her Faith "as contained in Holy Scripture, but warneth against errors which from "time to time have arisen in the Church of Christ.

"(2) That as Holy Scripture in divers places doth promise life to "them that believe and declare the condemnation of them that believe "not, so doth the Church in this Confession declare the necessity for "all who would be in a state of salvation of holding fast the Catholic "Faith, and the great peril of rejecting the same. Wherefore the warnings in this Confession are to be understood no otherwise than the "like warnings in Holy Scripture. Moreover the Church doth not "herein pronounce judgment on any particular person or persons, "God alone being the Judge of all. For we must receive God's threatenings even as His promises in such wise as they are generally set forth "in Holy Writ."

ture of kneeling at the Lord's Supper. For the cases are not similar. The one is an external ceremony the significance of which was open to misconstruction, but this ought not to be possible in a Creed. The admission of such explanatory note seems likely to do more than any other course towards helping on the disuse of the Quicunque altogether. Its opponents will claim the acknowledged need of an interpretation as the greatest argument in their favour, and will point to the want of unanimity among the proposers of such a note as a proof that the Creed is found difficult of exposition even by its supporters. Therefore, they will say, it cannot be edifying for congregational use. Thus, it is to be feared, a result will be expedited which none would deplore more than those who now advocate the insertion of a note.

(xii) It has further been proposed to remove the Creed from its present place in the Prayer-Book, and to insert it at the end of the eighth Article. Thus it would be held as a composition accepted by the clergy, and retained by the Church as a valuable comment on the Catholic Faith, which her ministers were bound to receive and understand, but its use would not any longer be enforced on those whose want of acquaintance with the history of those events which made the Creed valuable when it was first composed, renders them unable to appreciate the safeguard which such a form of profession may prove against similar errors in time to come. Those who advocate this course are told that it is to put a slight on the Creed, to thrust it thus as it were out of sight, when it has been so long held in high reverence. But no one thinks the Articles are slighted by the place they hold; and the divines of the Reformation-period who drew them up were undoubtedly men as learned and as pious as those

who, whether in the times of Charlemagne or Charles the Bald, were the compilers of the Quicunque. And our enquiry into the history shews that from the first, and for centuries afterwards, the work was regarded as a comment on the Faith for the use of the clergy only.

To revert to this original use, which was maintained in all countries for a long period, and from which most churches appear not to have deviated, seems a course which should recommend itself to those who regard the Creed with reverence. It would thus be a weapon in the armoury of those who are most called upon to resist the inroads of heretical teaching. To them, reading it in the light of history, it would always be a treasure, and would no longer present a mark at which both irreverence and ignorance aim their attacks.

But the spirit which has been evoked by this protracted controversy makes the present time eminently unsuitable for any action in this matter. The question has been discussed in such wise as to evoke "angry, resentful and con-"temptuous expressions, sadly incongruous with the con-"sideration of the nature of the God of love." Even at the most temperate meeting of the supporters of the present use, the authorized report of the proceedings shews how great was the warmth which the contest evoked[1]. Those who advocated any change are there accused of wishing to "fritter away the Faith," of "not being really firmly "attached to the Faith," of acting "under the urgency "and at the desire of men to whom all dogmatic teach-"ing is an abomination." In one of the letters read there, an eminent divine states that the "real issue" of

[1] See Authorized Report of the meetings in defence of the Athanasian Creed, which were held in St. James's Hall, and in the Hanover Square Rooms, January 31st, 1873.

the contest is "whether the Church of England should "virtually deny that the Faith in the Holy Trinity and in "the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ is essential to "salvation in those who could have it." A statement which so utterly ignores the real position of many of those who would fain have some change in the use, that so long as the opinion on which it is founded prevails, all hope of action, which can do anything but add to the dissension, must be laid aside.

The agitation will not however have been without its fruit, even though no alteration be made at the present time. New light has been thrown on the history of such documents as bear upon the controversy, and the labours which have been called forth will at least result in a greater store of knowledge and the increased accuracy of that which was already attained, and thus perhaps the way to a solution of the difficulty will be made more easy to those who may venture upon it in afterdays, when the fervour of the present controversy shall have cooled down.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF FATHERS, COUNCILS, AND OTHER AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO.

Clemens Romanus	*died about*	100
Ignatius	*died*	107
Justin Martyr	„	165
Irenæus	„	202
Clemens Alexandrinus	„	218
Tertullian	„	218
Novatian	*flourished*	250
Origen	*died*	254
Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage	„	258
Gregory Thaumaturgus	„	270
Paul of Samosata	*deposed*	272
Lucian the Martyr	*died*	312
Council of Nice	*held*	325
„ Tyre	„	335
Marcellus of Ancyra	*deposed*	336
Constantine the Great	*died*	337
Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea	„	340
I. Council of Antioch	*held*	341
II. „ „	„	344
Council of Milan	„	346
„ Sardica	„	347
I. Council of Sirmium	„	351
II. „ „	„	357
III. „ „	„	359
Council of Ariminum	„	359
„ Alexandria	„	362

Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers	*died*	368
Athanasius	„	373
Basil the Great	„	378
Council of Constantinople	*held*	381
Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem	*died*	386
Gregory Nazianzen	„	389
African Code	*date of*	391
Gregory of Nyssa	*died*	395
Ambrose, Bishop of Milan	„	397
Epiphanius	„	403
Rufinus	„	410
Council of Carthage	*held*	419
Jerome	*died*	420
Augustine	„	430
Council of Ephesus	*held*	431
Johannes Cassianus	*died*	435
Sozomen and Socrates, Histories of	*end*	439
Cyril of Alexandria	*died*	444
Vincentius Lirinensis	„	448
Hilary, Bishop of Arles	„	449
Maximus of Turin	*flourished*	450
Council of Chalcedon	*held*	451
Theodoret	*died*	456
Petrus Chrysologus	„	456
Nicetas of Aquileia	*flourished*	460
Vigilius Tapsensis	„	485
Peter Fullo, Patriarch of Antioch	*died*	488
Gennadius	„	495
Pope Gelasius	„	496
Facundus Hermianensis	*flourished*	548
Johannes Scholasticus	*died*	578
III. Council of Toledo	*held*	589
Venantius Fortunatus	*died*	609
Isidore, Bishop of Seville	„	633
IV. Council of Toledo	*held*	633

Synod of Heathfield	*held*	680
Trullan Council at Constantinople	„	692
Bede	*died*	735
Council of Lipte	*held*	743
Pirminius	*flourished*	750
Council of Gentilly	*held*	767
Etherius, Bishop of Osma	*flourished*	785
Council of Friuli	*held*	791
„ Frankfort	„	794
Charlemagne, Emperor of the West	*died*	800
Alcuin	„	804
Paulinus	„	804
Smaragdus	*flourished*	810
Council of Aquis-Grani (*Aix*)	*held*	816
Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans	*died*	821
Eginhard	„	840
Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons	„	840
Amalarius Fortunatus	*flourished*	840
Walafrid Strabo	*died*	849
Ratramn	„	868
Ado, Archbishop of Vienna	„	875
Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims	„	882
Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople	„	891
Ratherius, Bishop of Verona	„	960
Frodoardus	„	966
Berno Augiensis	„	1045
Peter Damian	„	1072
Peter Abelard	„	1142
Peter Lombard (Magister Sententiárum)	„	1164

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